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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Change in a Feminist Organization: The Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Activity 1981 - 1991

by

Janis Lawrence-Harper ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts.

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT STUDIES

Edmonton, Alberta
Spring 1993

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Dr. Ann Hall

Dr. Trevor Slack

Dallas Cullen

Dr. Dallas Cullen

DATE: APRIL 13/93

DEDICATION

To Margaret Harper and Mrs. Thonas

who have inspired me with the strength of their beliefs, their staunch determination, their gentleness, and the twinkle in their eyes.

ABSTRACT

This study explored change in a feminist sport organization over the first ten years of its existence. Change in the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Education (CAAWS) was examined using a biographical approach which emphasizes the connections between the founding state of the organization and the future actions and decisions made by its members. The history of CAAWS was analyzed with respect to five analytical constructs: Founding Context, Feminist Ideology and Values, Feminist Strategy, Structural Components, and External Relations.

The findings of this research revealed three periods of large scale discontinuous change and two periods of incremental convergent change. The first period of major change occurred from 1980 to 1982, during the founding of the organization. Women in sport altered their mode of organizing for social change from individual to formal group action. For three years after the founding, CAAWS had a broad domain of activities and a loosely structured strategy and liberal feminist philosophy. Members' discontentment concerning the lack of clarity about the organization's purpose coupled with its lesbian image lead to its second discontinuous change period.

Between 1985 and 1987 CAAWS members restructured the organization in order to focus their activities onto advocacy work. A comprehensive strategy linked all members through the activity of lobbying governments for policies and policy changes. It was during this period and the subsequent two years that CAAWS members viewed themselves as a women's organization and took a more radical approach to operating. However, by 1989 incremental changes had resulted in local members forming coalitions with other agencies in order to work on promoting physical activity for girls and women rather than advocating for legislative change.

The third discontinuous change was generated by the elimination of government operating funds to CAAWS. From 1989 to 1991 CAWS members reformulated the organization's ideology, strategy, structure, and external relations in order to be considered an umbrella sport organization. As of the middle of 1991, the Federal government accepted, in principle, CAAWS as a national sport organization.

By applying the biographical approach to this organizational history it was discovered that the original broad scope of the organizational domain and the relationship between CAAWS and the state were key factors in degree and nature of the changes members imposed. Also of critical importance was the influence the founding leaders had over significant organizational decisions and design processes. These factors may be found to be significant in the change process of other feminist organizations.

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Many individuals contributed to the completion of this thesis. My advisors, Dr. M. Ann Hall and Dr. Trevor Slack encouraged and supported my efforts along the way. Through their comments they broadened my thoughts, kept me on track, and gave me confidence. Dr. Dallas Cullen assisted in this project by engaging in stimulating conversations and providing forums for the presentation of ideas during the early stages of the study.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAHPERD	American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance
AGM	Annual General Meeting
Be-CAAWS	Women who believe in the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport, Ottawa Chapter
CAAWS	Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Activity
C.A.A.W.S.	Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Activity
CAAW&S	Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Activity
CAAW+S	Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Activity
CAAWS-BC	Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Activity, British Columbia Chapter
CAHPER	Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation
CIAU	Canadian Inter-University Athletics Union
CRIAW	Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women
FAS	Fitness and Amateur Sport
IPC	Interim Planning Committee
LEAF	Women's Legal Education and Action Fund
NAC	National Action Committee on the Status of Women
NAWL	National Association of Women and the Law
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"... 'feminism' is commonly used to refer to all those who seek, no matter on what grounds, to end women's subordination" (Jaggar, 1988, p. 5). Within Canada there are approximately 2500 organizations whose members act to liberate women (Vickers, 1991). Because of a lack of understanding about the term feminism and because of the negative stigma some people attach to this term, many of these organizations are not defined by their members as feminist. However, by the definition above these organizations are feminist and taken together as one unit constitute the Canadian women's movement.

Among feminist organizations researchers have found some generalities. The portion of the movement created by English Canadians supports radical liberalism (Vickers, 1989). This ideology supports the beliefs that social change is possible, and that the state is an effective agent in creating social change. It reflects English Canadian feminists' endorsement of generating change through service organizations, education, and the political process. Because of this ideology many of these organizations maintain a relationship with the Canadian state. Of the more than 2500 feminist organizations, over 700 were accepting either project or core operating funds from Secretary of State Women's Program in 1986 (Vickers, 1991). This relationship may influence the effectiveness of these organizations. A final commonalty among these organizations emanates from Canadian feminists' mode of organizing. Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail (1988) argue that Canadian feminists employ the notions of collectivity, leaderlessness, and personal experience in their organizations to create flat structures that operate on the principal of equality for all members through the rotation of tasks.

Although Canadian feminist organizations share certain characteristics, there is tremendous diversity among the individual organizations.

> To the extent that we define the women's movement organizationally, it is made up of hundreds of groups: some small, some large, some focused on single issues, some with a complex and wide-ranging political perspective. The constituency of some organizations is homogeneous: immigrant women, lesbians, women of colour, business and professional women, women in trades. Others have a heterogeneous constituency and focus on specific issues such as day-care, or on supporting a political perspective, as does the women's committee of the New Democratic Party (NDP). Some are based in large institutions like universities and government ministries; some are located in small communities. Some use traditional methods of organizing themselves; others have developed unconventional organizational structures, ... The diversity and political heterogeneity is enormous and is further complicated by the fact that the

> practice of the women's movement--the way it organizes for change--is also constantly being transformed through self-criticism, through experience, and by changing historical circumstances. (Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail, 1988, p. 8)

Because the range of feminist organizations is broad and their strategy and structure are continually transforming, there is a need to research these organizations, especially those that operate in areas of society in which women's participation is considered non-traditional, for instance, the realm of Canadian sport.

Within the Canadian sport system, there are a variety of organizations working towards creating equality in sport. At the local level there are organizations dedicated to promoting girls and women in sport and increasing the opportunities they have within their community. For example, the Ottawa Liaison Subcommitte on Participation in Sport formulated new methods of program delivery which generated a nineteen percent increase in the number of physically active girls and women in the Ottawa area in selected sports (Toy, 1991). As well, some of the national sport organizations have formed women's committees in order to work towards increasing female participation and equity in their sports. These committees were found by Hall, Cullen, and Slack (1989) to vary widely with respect to their functions, from acting primarily as a support network, to being proactive in generating policies and programs. Other organizations have formed to assist women sport administrators. One such organization is Au Feminin, a network for women employed by national sport and fitness organizations that reside in the National Sport and Recreation Center in Ottawa. Of all the organizations commited to advancing women in sport few declare themselves feminist.

One such organization in the Canadian sport system is the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Activity (CAAWS)[1]. It is a voluntary non-profit organization which seeks to create equality for women and girls in sport and physical activity. Founded in 1981 as the only national feminist organization working in this area, CAAWS' ten years of operations are a ripe area for study.

This organization has been examined from four perspectives to date. I was commissioned to write a descriptive report documenting the founding and development of CAAWS (Lawrence-Harper, 1991). From this research, CAAWS was found to be a small organization whose development was shaped by struggles over the organizational mandate, the relationship with the state, and the presence of homophobia in the organization, and the organizational sector in which its members wished to operate. Other research informs some of these sites of tension. Lenskyj (1989) included CAAWS as one of the research sites in her examination of homophobia in physical education and sport. She found that members of CAAWS supported a radical analysis and created progressive resolutions on homophobia in comparison to three other national organizations concerned with physical education and sport. CAAWS members recognized the need for lesbian issues to become politicized and the role that heterosexual women could play in this process.

---

[1] The organization was founded as the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport. In 1988, the members added "and Physical Activity" onto the end of the name. However, the letters in the acronym, CAAWS, have remained constant. During the early years of operations, the acronym sometimes took the forms CAAW&S and CAAW+S. Throughout this document the organization will be referred to as CAAWS. For accuracy, references that used an alternative form of the acronym have been left as such. All documents produced by CAAWS members which have been referenced in this document and recorded in the bibliography are identified in both areas as CAAWS.

In a study of linkages among organizations in the Canadian women's movement, and the interactions between the movement and the Canadian government, CAAWS and twenty-eight other women's organizations were found to share a commitment to a common set of values that gave the group a collective identity (Phillips, 1990). Weak ties connected these organizations and increased the influence that each organization, for instance CAAWS, had with state officials. Along the same vein of inquiry, there is a work in progress investigating the possible cooptation of CAAWS by the state because of the strong relationship between these two actors (Forbes, 1993).

The study presented here furthers the understanding of this unique organization by exploring the development of CAAWS using organization theory to inform the research[2]. In this study, I will specifically examine the impetus for changes, the degree of change, and the nature of the changes within the organization. This analysis is based on the information gathered while constructing the above mentioned history of the organization. Also of interest here are the manifestations of feminism in the creation, structuring, and operations of CAAWS. Within a framework based on organizational change and characteristics of feminist organizations, particular instances from the history of CAAWS are analyzed for the significance they have had on its development.

The analytical framework used here takes as its point of departure Martin's (1990) inductive research which suggests a method for examining feminist organizations. Martin provides ten general dimensions upon which feminist organizations can be classified. She delineates these dimensions so that feminist organizations can be compared to one another. Analyzing the content of each dimension over time is useful in identifying organizational changes. However, this approach does not emphasize overall patterns of change as well as theories that are focused specifically on organizational change. In order to strengthen Martin's framework in this respect, I extend it, by incorporating research findings from work in the area of organizational theory and feminist organizations. Below is a summary of the foundation for the framework used in this research, while a complete discussion concerning it is contained in Chapter Two.

Kimberly (1987) argues that an organization's past is analogous to a biography. At its genesis, an organization is set in motion along a path that is based on a few critical determinants. The organization deviates from this path according to the impact that internal and external forces have on the organization's momentum in its current direction. Employing the biographical image in this study of organizational change assisted in conceptually linking events and activities to the original organizational configuration.

---

[2] Another study with a similar perspective is Scott-Pawson (1991). Similar to this current study it analyzes CAAWS from an organizational theory perspective. However, I have limited knowledge of this research and therefore, cannot comment on its content. I can only point out that it exists.

As well as tracing an organization's changes, the biographical approach can be used to compare the development of other organizations in its sector. Kimberly and Rottman (1987) argue that at the time of founding, there are a specific set of decisions in each organizational sector that strongly influence the future actions of an organization. Martin (1991) argues that the feminist organizational sector can be identified by categorizing organizations as feminist based on five dimensions. An organization is feminist if it incorporates feminism in one or more of these organizational dimensions: ideology, values, goals, activity outcomes, and if it was created as part of the women's movement. Synthesizing the work of Martin (1991) and Kimberly and Rottman (1987), I argue that some of the decisions made within these five organizational dimensions limit the future options for feminist organizations. However, the specific critical decisions for feminist organizations are not currently known and can only be determined through the application of the biographical approach to a number of case studies. This thesis is one step towards uncovering those significant initial decisions.

METHODOLOGY

This case study of CAAWS is longitudinal and qualitative. It covers approximately an eleven year period from the year prior to the creation of the organization (1980) to its tenth anniversary (1991). The information sources used for data collection were document analysis and in-depth interviews which were conducted in two series. The first data collection phase consisted of seven interviews and the analysis of over 2000 pages of organizational documents. In the second phase of data collection I interviewed sixteen more participants and collected approximately 500 pages of documents pertaining to the organization.

Selection of Interviewees

I used a number of criteria to select the interviewees. Of the three levels in CAAWS, local, provincial, and national, members in only the latter level operated continuously over the ten years. Also this level of operations appeared to have been well documented. For this reason, all of the women selected as potential interviewees had participated on the national Board of Directors. Another criteria pertained to their length of involvement. It was important in this research to obtain information concerning each year under study. Thus, after determining all of the individuals who served on the CAAWS Board, I created a list of the longer-term Board members. These women I felt would have a more in-depth knowledge of specific events in the history and have general opinions concerning issues that were struggled over. I limited this list to women who had served for a three year period or more. To this list I added women who were frequently mentioned in the Minutes of the Board meetings. Forty-one possible interviewees were identified by this method.

This emphasis on longer term members as interviewees may have distorted the picture of the organization, because short term members may have left the organization due to tensions and difficulties which did not trouble or deter longer term members. During the interviews I found the members to be frank about struggles and organizational problems and consequently, I feel that the selection process for interviewees was appropriate and did not greatly skew the research findings.

In an attempt to balance the possible information to be gained through interviews with respect to time periods and geography I divided these women into groups according to when they participated and where they lived at that time. I attempted to include representation from most parts of Canada. Each year of operations was covered by a minimum of six interviewees. The highest number of interviewees discussing one particular year was eleven. In order to cover the history with a manageable number of interviews, given financial and time constraints, twenty-three interviews were arranged.

Twenty-one of the women interviewed were volunteer Directors while living in Vancouver, Edmonton, Regina, Toronto, London (Ontario), Ottawa, Montreal, and Halifax. Most of these organizational members also worked for CAAWS at the local level. Also of importance was the participation of a number of the paid staff. Their knowledge of the central office and daily operations was judged to be vital to this research. Two of these women were interviewed. The first seven interviews were conducted in July, 1990, and the remaining sixteen occurred between November, 1990 and January 1991.

Data Gathering Techniques

Interviews took place in offices, at interviewee's homes, in restaurants, and over the telephone. One of the interviews was not taped due to machine failure, and part of a second interview was missed due to the loss of power in the batteries of the tape recorder. In both cases, the field notes taken and the summaries written shortly after the interviews, I believe, captured most of the information told by the women. The interviews ranged in length from forty-five minutes to two hours.

The first series of interviews were used to gain a preliminary overall view of CAAWS, and hence, a general set of questions were prepared and asked. These questions involved descriptions of interviewee's involvement, major events, structural changes, philosophical changes, key actors, external relations, public image, and other recollections of the organization.

The interview schedules for the second set of interviews contained questions regarding the specific time period the interviewee was involved in the organization. These questions arose from the identification of issues and events in the document analysis and from comments made by other interviewees. As well, if an interviewee directed the conversation in a particular direction, I would diverge from the interview schedule temporarily to explore the new area.

Along with the interviews, I collected organizational documents as these were seen as an important source of information. I was permitted access to all CAAWS documentation in the national office. Of particular interest were Board of Directors and Executive meeting minutes, Annual General Meeting Reports and minutes, newsletters, correspondence, and published articles. Specifically, I looked for grant submissions, project reports, written strategies and goals, and planning documents, financial statements, and organizational charts. In July 1990 I gathered a large sampling of the types of documents listed above. The second set of documents were collected in November 1990, and were particular pieces of information which the interviews and other documents had drawn to my attention.

Analysis and Treatment of the Data

Data analysis for this project consisted of a two phase process. Out of the first phase of analysis I generated an unpublished history for the organization. For the second analysis phase I took the written history as the starting point and analyzed it using the theoretical framework presented in Chapter Two of this thesis. Since the data used in this study was not explicitly collected for this thesis there are limitations to its employment here. Having analyzed the data in order to create a narrative my analysis of the data the second time may be slanted according to my first interpretation. Also limiting may be the questions asked in the interviews. For instance, the framework for this thesis uses the concept of strategy, but within the interviews strategy was never directly addressed. However, in my formualtion of the analytical framework I redress this limitation by defining strategy such that information in the interviews may be used to inform the analysis. Below is a description of the data analysis involved in each phase.

In order to shape the document and interview data into an organizational history, I began by reviewing the organizational documents and plotting organizational events on a time line. This exercise produced a general outline of the history of CAAWS. I then started working with the interview data. Interviewees generally provided information concerning struggles, tension, and feelings about the organization, rather than exact details of events. This phenomenon was especially true for interviewees whose involvement occurred more than three or four years prior to the interview. In order to incorporate the specific details and events gained from the documents with the impressions and interpretations given by the interviewees, I analyzed the interview data using Kirby and McKenna's (1989) adaptation of Glaser and Strauss' (1967) constant comparative method. Quotes from verbatim transcriptions, impressions from the field notes, and records from the documents were separated from their sources and filed together to form specific categories. After dividing the information in each category chronologically and reviewing the contents of all categories on a year by year basis, I identified and named five time periods in the history: founding, visions, focusing, common focus, and surviving. Within this issue oriented time frame, which emerged from the constant comparative method, I identified and addressed organizational events, activities, and issues. The result was an organizational history of CAAWS.

Once the history was constructed, the second phase of data analysis began. I reassessed the data according to the analytical framework developed for this thesis. Chapter Two contains a description of the analytical framework. It begins with an in-depth review of the biographical approach used and a delineation of Martin's (1991) ten dimensions for feminist organizations. Organizational change literature and other writings on feminist organizations are then synthesized into a framework based on five constructs through which change in feminist organizations can be assessed.

Because I employed theoretical concepts involving two types of organizational change, the five time periods identified in the history were regrouped into three periods, 1980 to 1985, 1985 to 1989, and 1989 to 1991. The data in the history were then shuffled into the new time periods and the analysis of changes occurring during these periods is found in Chapters Three, Four, and Five, respectively.

Within the time periods, and hence the chapters, the data were sorted according to the five constructs of the analytical framework: Founding Context, Feminist Ideology and Values, Feminist Strategy, Structural Components, and External Relations. This information was then supplemented with material directly from the interviews and documents, when necessary, and was shaped into this thesis. The descriptions from the data are informed by literature on organizational change and feminist organizations in order to examine the manner in which each construct has influenced the development of CAAWS.

Chapter Six concludes this work. It begins with a summary of the findings within each construct. This involves a brief review of the theoretical framework and then a statement concerning the utility of each construct. The Chapter concludes with a discussion regarding limitations of the study and the implications of this research for further research on feminist organizations.

CHAPTER 2

A BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH TO STUDYING CHANGE IN FEMINIST ORGANIZATIONS

In this chapter, I will develop a framework for analyzing changes in feminist organizations. The framework will utilize the biographical approach to the study of organizations. Three important facets of organizational biography will be examined. First, the general nature and specific characteristics of the biographical approach will be delineated. Second, the importance of early organizational decisions to an organization's history will be reviewed and placed within the context of the feminist organizational sector. Third, the general concepts behind a biographical analysis of organizational change will be illuminated and linked with specific issues important to the feminist organizational sector from which this case study is drawn. Each of these facets are discussed separately. The final section of the chapter integrates the ideas regarding organizational biography, feminist organizations, and organizational change into a cohesive framework to be employed in the case study of the CAAWS.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ORGANIZATIONAL BIOGRAPHIES

The biographical approach to studying organizations emerges out of an organismic metaphor of organizations (Morgan, 1986). This metaphor places emphasis on both the internal and external elements that affect an organization's operations and direction. Organizational survival, like the survival of an organism, demands that resources gained from the environment be effectively and efficiently utilized by its internal systems. The organism metaphor has been extended by some researchers (Greiner, 1972; Kimberly, 1980) who add a life cycle analogy to account for the changes which occur in organizations. Like the life cycle of an organism which passes through stages of being born, maturing, and dying, it has been argued that organizations change along a similar continuum from being created, to maturing, to declining (Kimberly, 1980; Robbins, 1987). This analogy has helped researchers move beyond the view of organizations as static entities to a view that stresses their continual state of flux.

Some researchers argue that the life cycle approach assists in understanding and formulating developmental stages. For example, Robbins (1987) adapts Cameron and Whetton's (1983) life cycle model to produce stages which he terms: entrepreneurial, collectivity, formalization and control, elaboration of structure, and decline. However, Kimberly (1980) cautions that this analogy can be carried too far; it cannot be expected that all organizations will pass through specific stages of development at specific times and at specific rates. In fact some organizations have been found to skip over stages in the proposed life cycle, or to purposely try to stay in a specific stage for as long as possible (Morrison, 1984; Hackman, 1984). Organizational development in this approach is conceived of as a linear process and hence cannot account for other types of change such as the schizoid movements described by Hinings and Greenwood (1988a). The other major difficulty with this analogy is that organizations, unlike organisms, do not necessarily die. Instead they may change their focus when their mission has become obsolete, or when a merger or acquisition occurs.

In an attempt to redress some of the difficulties of applying the life cycle model, Kimberly (1987) proposes the use of organizational biographies; he argues that such a tool highlights the fluidity of organizational life without predefining the transitions and stages through which an organization may pass. The emphasis that this approach places on longitudinal change and development assists in illuminating connections between an organization's initial form and its present state. Similar to biographies of people, organizational biographies trace out the history of a subject from a critical, questioning view point (Kimberly, 1987) and, hence, are ideal for use in case studies where the in-depth study of a single organization and its evolution are the focus.

Another facet of the biographical approach is that it is premised on the idea that organizations have unique characteristics as well as characteristics which are common to all organizations that operate in a specific sector (Kimberly, 1987). An organization is unique when it comes to the individual circumstances surrounding its creation, the specific people involved, and the major events that occurred in history. The similarities among organizations within a sector stem from the common external environment, which plays a role in shaping the structure and strategy of these organizations, and therefore in these areas there are often similarities (Child and Smith, 1987; Hinings and Greenwood, 1988a). By using a biographical approach to study an organization the unique people and events involved can be highlighted, as well as those traits which are common to all organizations in that sector.

Thus, using a biographical approach will allow me to create an in-depth case study which focuses on the unique elements of a feminist organization and at the same time to tie the analysis to the organization's environment and to other feminist organizations. The other major benefit of this approach is its focus on organizational changes and the links these have to the organization's past. For the purposes of this thesis these strengths provide a framework from which to analyze the history of CAAWS.

BIOGRAPHIES CONNECT AN ORGANIZATION'S PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

The connections between an organization's past, present, and future are illuminated in Kimberly's (1987) framework through the concept of initial significant decisions. He argues that within the first few years of an organization's existence significant decisions are made which "strongly influence the future course of the organization, by limiting the range of feasible alternatives, shaping the internal culture, and defining the organization's identity (Kimberly, 1987, p. 235)".

Expanding upon Kimberly's (1987) argument that specific types of decisions are significant, Kimberly and Rottman (1987) argue that different organizational sectors or species would have different sets of significant decisions. For example, from six biographies on sheltered workshops they identify six significant decision areas: orientation, domain specialization, number of programs and services, severity of impairment of clientele, level of technical activation, and staff professionalization. Initial significant decisions such as these and the actions that follow them impact upon the organization by setting it moving in a certain direction which limits the future range of possible choices and options for decisions and action.

Following Kimberly and Rottman's (1987) argument for the sector specific nature of significant initial decisions, the application of a biographical approach to a feminist organization demands consideration of potential significant decisions within the feminist organizational sector. A theoretical framework which is used to examine elements critical to feminist organizations has been developed by Martin (1990). Based on a review of feminist organization literature, she argues that because feminist organizations share a number of qualities they exist as a species of organizations. In other words, they exist within the same organizational sector. Members of this species are identified and compared by examining the decisions and operations occurring within ten organizational dimensions (Martin, 1990). These dimensions are:

(1) founding circumstances,
(2) feminist ideology,
(3) feminist values,
(4) feminist goals,
(5) feminist outcomes,
(6) structure,
(7) practices,
(8) members and membership,
(9) scope and scale, and
(10) external relations.

Martin argues that an organization is feminist only if it endorses feminism through one or more of the first five dimensions. In other words, an organization is classified as feminist if one or more of the following are true:

it was created during and as a part of the women's movement;
it supports feminist beliefs;
it emphasizes feminist values such as caring, personal growth, support and empowerment;
it helps members to understand and promote change based on the view that women are an oppressed group;
and it impacts its members and society for the benefit of women.
(Martin, 1990)

The five dimensions that these statements represent set the parameters for organizations to be classified as feminist. Hence, the significant initial decisions that impact the future of feminist organizations must also reside within these five dimensions. Decisions, planned or unplanned, regarding the founding circumstances, feminist ideology, feminist values, feminist goals, and feminist outcomes not only define an organization, but also influence an organization's future by restricting future options. The dimensions 6 through 10 do not contribute to the defining of feminist organizations, but are commonly used in the study of feminist organizations and therefore, can be used to expand the basis for comparisons among these organizations.

In the remainder of this chapter I will utilize Martin's dimensions within the context of a biographical approach to develop a theoretical framework for the analysis of change in feminist organizations. I will accomplish this in two sections. In the first, I will provide a detailed overview of Martin's ten dimensions, separating them into defining and comparative dimensions. In the second major section, I will draw largely on the organizational change literature to develop these dimensions further. By grouping together some of Martin's dimensions I will assemble five constructs which will link to both organizational change literature and research on feminist organizations in order to focus on the general and distinct nature of change in these organizations.

Ten Dimensions of Feminist Organizations

Defining Dimensions

Martin (1990) considers an organization's **Founding Circumstances** an indicator of whether or not an organization is feminist. She supports this idea by citing Cafferata's (1982) argument for organizational species, which suggests that organizations created at the same point in time and within the same institutional field will belong to the same species of organizations, and thus, have similar underlying patterns. Therefore, Martin argues that a women's group formed during and as a part of the women's movement would be feminist. The underlying patterns which make an organization feminist would be transferred from the women's movement to a specific women's organization through a process Stinchcombe (1965) terms "imprinting". That is to say, the social technology of the specific time period and institutional field becomes embedded or imprinted into all those organizations which are created in a specific field at a particular point in time.

Feminist Ideology is defined by Martin as a perspective on social reality from which women are viewed as an oppressed sex-class. She argues that freedom from this disadvantaged state can only occur through drastically altering the social, economic, and political arrangements in society that continually reinforce and reconstruct the relationships which oppress women. Moving to an organizational setting, Martin considers an organization to be feminist if its members view women as an oppressed class and actively work towards changing this social reality. However, the mechanics of changing society differ greatly among different feminist ideologies. Hence, to understand the actions of a particular organization Martin stresses the importance of classifying the feminist ideology found in each organization as, for instance, liberal, socialist, or radical. If an organization is based on any feminist ideology then Martin classifies it as feminist.

Martin defines values as "normative preferences that are invoked as guides to goal formation, action, planning, policy making, and so on" (p. 192). **Feminist Values** are identified through the political analysis of women's personal experiences as compared to the generally socially accepted male values. These two sets of values systems are delineated by Taylor (1983 in Martin, 1990), who contrasts the masculine values of hierarchy, competition, individualism, and conflict; and, the feminist values of egalitarianism, cooperation, nurturance, and peace. In an organizational setting the use of feminist values can help create non-traditional modes of operating. For example, having expertise in an area in a traditional organization is generally a means to personal power; whereas in some feminist organizations it is a means of assisting others rather than advancing oneself (Ferguson, 1984). Thus, the espousal of feminist values is indicative of a feminist organization.

Martin (p. 196) cites Hall (1986) in defining goals as "action agendas" which can be conflicting and problematic to undertake. Martin classifies **Feminist Goals** into three main categories: improving the skill, knowledge, and self confidence of the female organizational members; providing education and health services to all women; and changing the entire society to improve the status of women. An organization having an action agenda which includes one or more of these general Feminist Goals is classified as feminist.

Feminist Outcomes are the intended effects from the goals pursued, and as such are strongly connected to the dimension Feminist Goals. By probing the outcomes of the three general feminist goal categories, one can assess whether or not an organization is feminist along this dimension; although the organization may or may not openly espouse its goals, the researcher can use the outcomes to analyze whether or not it is feminist. Drawing from the three feminist goal categories one can assess whether or not the organization's members expand their skills and knowledge from their participation in the feminist organization; whether or not the women in the community are more knowledgeable regarding health services because of the feminist organization; and whether or not women's social status has improved due to the actions of the organization. Although difficult to measure and verify, feminist outcomes can be compared with the intended goals in order to provide useful information about the efficacy of organized feminist action.

Comparative Dimensions

Martin (1990) defines the **Structure** of an organization as the "normative internal arrangements" (p. 195) which deal with power distribution, authority, division of labour, and decision making. Organizational structure is a comparative rather than a defining dimension because of the large variety of structures used in feminist organizations. In general, feminist methods of organizing have been depicted as collectivist; however Gornick, Burt and Pitman (1985), Staggenborg (1988), and Thurston (1987) all found that the feminist organizations they studied were an amalgamation of structuring methods, particularly bureaucracy and democracy, rather than one single form. As well as the type of organizational structure, Martin's dimension includes an analysis of the formal organizational systems, specifically decision making, division of labour, and conflict resolution. These systems are generally those set out in policy and procedure documents.

The **Practice** dimension is denoted by Martin as the organization's strategy and tactics. In other words, the dimension is used to analyze members' planned and unplanned actions, as well as the informal structure and systems that emerge from them. Dividing the formal and informal structures into separate dimensions emphasizes the possible incongruities between the outcome of planning and the outcome of action whereby the Structure dimension reflects the former and the Practice dimension reflects the latter. In order to examine organizational practices, Martin suggests inquiring as to the internal and external activities of the members and how these relate to the ideology, values, goals, and structure.

With respect to the **Members and Membership** dimension Martin argues that there is no single acceptable policy concerning who can join feminist organizations. Some feminist groups limit their membership to those with a similar ideology, while other groups are based on ideological diversity. The guidelines regarding male members is another controversial point, whether or not to accept male members and if so, in what capacity will they be allowed to act. The relationships among various types of members are important to the functioning of the group. An example of a potential difficulty in a relationship is whether paid staff can have voting privileges, and at what organizational levels can these privileges be used. Other issues in this dimension deal with the recruitment, socialization, termination of members as well as the career paths of members, which may differ according to their level of involvement.

Martin defines **Scope** as the geographic range of the organization, for example, local, provincial, or national. **Scale** is defined as the size of the membership, clientele, and budget as well as the number and types of organizational activities. She rejects the idea that feminist organizations must be small and local in order to be truly feminist. This concept, she states, stems from the notion of an ideal type of feminist organization, rather than reflecting the actual variety of sizes and geographic coverage of these organizations. Having all small local organizations would tend to separate the women's movement into pockets of activity which would be isolated from each other. Likewise all large national organizations would not be effective at reaching the average woman.

The dimension of **External Relations** refers to the "nature, intensity, and content of an organization's ties to its environment" (Martin, 1990, p. 199). This dimension is divided into four categories each dealing with one aspect of the organization's links to its external environment. The Legal-Corporate Status category is used to analyze the relationship between an organization and the state. The category of Autonomy is used to examine any dependence the organization may have on other organizations. Funding is a category of external relations which is used to probe the financial resources of the organization in regard to what sources supply what percentage of the necessary operating budget. The last category is that of Network Linkages; it is used to examine the intensity and extent of relations the organization under study has with other feminist and non-feminist organizations.

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE BIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF CHANGE IN FEMINIST ORGANIZATIONS

The biographical approach requires sector-specific understandings of critical decisions and dimensions of organizations (Kimberly and Rottman, 1987, p. 595-596). Martin's dimensions begin to provide a set of critical issues and decisions for feminist organizations; however, for two reasons her dimensions are not well suited to a straightforward application within a biographical approach. First, some of the dimensions are not easily distinguished from one another in an empirical setting. For instance, values and ideology are highly inter-related and could be difficult to separate when dealing with actual practices and members' statements: discussion of organizational values would reflect the ideology and vice versa. Second, most of the dimensions, as discussed by Martin, are static in nature. Although there is nothing inherently static about any of them, Martin delineates and explains the dimensions in terms of a comparison approach to organizational analysis focusing primarily on one time period. For these two reasons, I will, in the remainder of this chapter, redevelop these dimensions into a theoretical framework for the analysis of change in feminist organizations built around five distinct constructs: **Founding Context** (Founding Circumstances plus Founding Leaders), **Feminist Ideology and Values, Feminist Strategy** (Feminist Goals, Practices, Feminist Outcomes), **Structural Components** (Structure, Members and Membership, and Scope and Scale), and **External Relations** (External Relations).

The development of these five constructs will compress Martin's ten dimensions and, drawing largely on the organizational change literature, infuse the framework with the necessary dynamism. There are two principles of change espoused in Kimberly's (1987) biographical approach. One addresses the incremental nature of most organizational change and the other addresses how a lack of cohesion internally or externally will induce change. Additional arguments concerning these two change concepts will be presented as I discuss the organizational change literature with respect to the five constructs that address feminist organizations.

Founding Context

The first of the five constructs, Founding Context, is concerned with the influence of the initial internal and external contexts, and with the ongoing influence of an organization's founding leaders. The initial transference of social technology into an organization occurs on two levels. Within the organization, founding members make strategic decisions in the areas of design, expertise, domain, and governance (Kimberly, 1987). The organizational members making these decisions are influenced by their understanding and perceptions of the world around them (Daft and Weick, 1984). Hence, the decisions they make reflect the world they experience.

With respect to feminist organizations, Martin's defining dimensions contain the significant decisions which translate the founding members' ideas and perceptions into an organization that can be classified as feminist. Once decisions regarding feminist ideology, feminist values, feminist goals, and feminist outcomes are made, organizational members create support structures and systems which reflect these decisions. These structures coupled with the significant decisions, limit future organizing and operating choices. Thus, the strategic decisions made at the outset regulate an organization's rate of change. The strategic choices made at the time of founding form one set of factors that support incremental, convergent change.

A second set of factors are present due to environmental constraints and pressures. Social technology is transferred into a new organization by the reliance of the organization on its environment for resources and legitimacy. That is to say, the organizational environment controls the resources and opportunities for all organizations and, thus, the organization must meet and conform to the environment or suffer the loss of resources and opportunities (Child and Kieser, 1980). Research which examines environmental pressures centers on the idea of environmental determinism; it argues that broad social, cultural, and political environments combine to support certain types of institutions at certain times. Hence, many similar organizations will be formed during a specific historical period (Stinchcombe, 1965). The environment imposes the legitimate social technology of the time onto the new organization, such that the new entity must adopt it to survive.

Martin's Founding Circumstances dimension is derived directly from this perception of environment-organization relations. Feminist organizations as a group form a species or sector of organizations based on the argument that the environmental requirements of the historical period imprint a similar pattern into all such organizations. Because of the legitimacy gained through the environment, organizations have difficulty breaking away from the imprinted pattern. Hence, the Founding Circumstances also act to regulate the rate of organizational change.

From both the strategic choice and environmental perspectives it can be seen that the founding period and the decisions made during the founding have important repercussions for the future of the organization. All five of Martin's defining dimensions are involved during the founding, and therefore strongly impact the organization's history. In much the same way as a person's past experiences influence their present decisions and actions, the past organizational events and patterns, as well as the members' recollections of them, influence present organizational decisions and actions.

In addition to the Founding Circumstances I believe it is important to examine the roles and activities of the organizational founders. As Boeker (1988) argues, the founders are the agents who imprint the social and environmental conditions onto the new organization. At the time of founding, an organization generally has only a mission and some degree of resources.

> It is incumbent on the entrepreneur or founding leader to establish the initial structure, acquire the facilities, ... and create the conditions that are subsequently imprinted. Thus, the organization's founding entrepreneur ... serves as a primary conduit by which larger social conditions become incorporated into organizational strategy and structure. (Boeker, 1988, p. 34-35)

By extending the analysis of the founding to include the founders and their actions, the links between the founding circumstances and the initial organizing configuration can be more fully articulated.

Although understanding the roles and activities of organizational founders is a critical element in examining the founding, the very nature of feminist organizations may make this problematic. In feminist organizations, there is often a reluctance to have a single individual as a leader. Instead, groups of women often work together to steer the organization. Because of this it may be more difficult to identify the key founder(s) who strongly influenced the organization. In this case it is useful to draw on Schein (1990), who states that founders are dominant leaders whose beliefs, values, and assumptions provide models for others. This definition broadens the notion of the founder and helps to define which organizational members in feminist organizations should be viewed as founding leaders. From this point onward I shall refer to the dominant members during the start-up period of an organization as its founding leaders.

Research on the impact of founding leaders generally supports the idea that their influence is extensive during the organization's start up period. Beyond that time, Boeker (1989) found that the length of their stay in the organization was associated with the institutionalization of the initial strategy. I suggest that the analysis of the founding leaders' actions, and their length of tenure be coupled with the founding circumstances in order to study the effects of the founding on the development of feminist organizations. By adding the study of founding leaders to the Founding Circumstances dimension, the first analytical construct is formed.

In applying the theory on founding leaders discussed above to feminist organizations, certain considerations must be made due to the different structure and operations of such organizations. From the literature on feminist organizations two related concepts seem to be important in considering the role and importance of founding leaders: leaderlessness and factions. In order to maximize the feminist values of egalitarianism and nurturance, many feminist organizations implement leaderless structures that have little or no hierarchy, they operate through consensus decision making, and give each member responsibility for the affairs and actions of the organization (Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail, 1988). Hence, when analyzing the impact of founding leaders in feminist organizations, the first consideration is to assess who the founding leaders were or are. As well, it is important to consider that the impact of these leaders may differ from that suggested in malestream organization theory due to the informality of their leadership.

The concept of factions in feminist organizations is described by Ristock (1991) as the result of presumed leaderlessness. She found that in Canadian feminist social service collectives, factions of members formed and vied for power rather than individual leaders (p. 52). Adamson, et. al. (1988) found in their own experiences that the covert leadership generated an "in group" of members who made informal decisions. Thus, when examining the impact of founding leaders, it is important to look for groups of women leading the organization as well as for individual leaders.

Feminist Ideology and Values

In connection with the founding period Martin's five defining dimensions have been shown to configure an organization such that its future options are limited. After the founding, her dimensions continue to be significant with respect to organizational change. This section deals with the impact that Feminist Ideology and Feminist Values have on an organization and its development.

Martin defines Feminist Ideology as viewing women as an oppressed sex-class and working towards social change, and she defines Feminist Values as preferred outcomes that are used as guides to action. The relationship between ideology and values is explained by Beyer (1981, p. 166-167) in her comprehensive paper "Ideology, values, and decision making". She argues that:

> Ideology refers to beliefs about causal relations between courses of action and outcomes, whereas values refer to preferences for courses of action and outcomes. Thus, ideologies explain the hows and whys of events, and affect predictions of the likelihoods of outcomes. ... Values make some courses of action more desirable than others, or some outcomes more desirable than others, and so values also influence choices of what or which courses of action to take.

The subtle distinction between ideologies and values makes it difficult to empirically examine these two dimensions separately. In order to avoid artificial distinctions and to highlight the inter-relatedness of ideology and values, I will employ them together as a single construct.

In examining ideology and values with a view to feminist organizations and organizational change, there are, at least, two critical elements to an understanding of the construct. The first comes from Martin's framework and deals with describing and analyzing the substantive nature of the ideology and values. The second critical element emerges from the organizational change literature and delves into understanding the commitment to the construct. In the remainder of this section I will discuss the substantive analysis of ideology and values and of member's commitment, and relate this to change in feminist organizations.

The organizational change model developed by Hinings and Greenwood (1988a) illustrates the centrality of ideology and values in the organizational change process. In this model, they employ the concept of "interpretive schemes" and argue that interpretive schemes are a central factor in organizational change. In an earlier paper, they describe interpretive schemes as:

> ...the indispensable cognitive schema that map our experience of the world... [Interpretive schemes] reveal deep-seated bases of orientation which operate in every encounter in organizations as shared assumptions about the way to approach and proceed in the situation. (Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood, 1980, p. 5)

Ranson, et. al. (1980) describe interpretive schemes as the building blocks for "provinces of meanings" which are constantly used by organizational members to give meaning to situations. In this way interpretive schemes are used as a similar concept to ideology and values in organizations.

Feminism includes several alternative ideologies, including liberal feminism, socialist feminism, radical feminism, lesbian feminism, and Marxist feminism. These specific feminisms share the idea that women are an oppressed sex class, but they differ on how the oppression is constructed and its effect on women and society (Jaggar, 1983). Accordingly, the particular brand of feminism or feminisms to which an organization subscribes will greatly influence the types of activities that members will support. For example, radical feminists who believe that they need to separate themselves from all patriarchal structures may create an organization to serve only the needs of the immediate members, thereby restricting the organization's domain to a select sphere or operation. In contrast, the members of a liberal feminist organization may have a broad domain of operations by lobbying for all women through their interactions with the state and its legislation.

The supported methods of organizing and evaluating are similarly dictated by the specific form of feminism followed. An example of Feminist Values influencing both the action and the evaluation can be seen in the application of the egalitarian value which Taylor (1983) identified as feminist. Feminists have operationalized egalitarianism into the organization through consensus decision making, job rotation, and low or no formal organizational hierarchy. The feminist criteria for evaluation of actions based on this value may simply be questioning whether the activity was conducted in an egalitarian fashion, rather than the more male-centered approach of questioning whether the activity was efficient. In terms of interpretive schemes, organizations which support different feminisms will define their appropriate domain of operation, their appropriate principles of organizing, and their criteria of evaluation differently (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988a). It is important to understand the form of feminism supported by an organization and the particulars with respect to these three areas in order to comprehend how the members perceive and act in their world. By identifying the general and specific nature of the Feminist Ideology and Values construct within an organization, the alterations or variance from the original can be noted and plotted in the organization's history.

Along with the specific ideology and values held within an organization, the commitment level of members to these beliefs determines the impact which these beliefs have on organization change. In their research on strategic change, Hinings and Greenwood (1988a) propose four patterns of membership commitment to the organizational interpretive scheme(s) which can assist in the examination of ideological and value changes or lack of change experienced by an organization. The four patterns of commitment are:

> status quo commitment: widespread commitment to the existing interpretive scheme
> reformative commitment: widespread commitment to an alternative interpretive scheme
> indifferent commitment: low commitment to prevailing and alternative interpretive schemes
> competitive commitment: substantial commitment to two or more interpretive schemes (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988a, p. 50)

Hinings and Greenwood (1988a, p. 50-53) argue that an organization experiencing specific commitment patterns will have a greater probability of experiencing specific types of organizational change. A status quo commitment will most likely lead to a steady, stable organization that experiences incremental changes which draw it deeper into its current form. A reformative commitment will likely enable organizational members to create structural and systemic changes which support an alternative interpretive scheme, and thus create substantial organizational changes. An indifferent commitment pattern could keep an organization on the same path and therefore support small incremental changes. Alternatively, an indifferent commitment pattern could lead random changes being instigated with little thought as to the long term effect, or this commitment pattern could flow from organizational members experimenting with change such that they create changes in one direction, but then, they are not committed to follow through and change all organizational systems in order to create a fit with the alternative interpretive scheme. A competitive commitment pattern will likely lead organizational factions to struggle for changes that support their particular interpretive scheme, and so, each change that occurs in the organization reflects only the preference of one subset of members who were victorious with respect to one particular issue. This can result in the organization continually moving between the competing interpretive schemes, but never becoming fully committed to either. This last pattern is the most likely of the four to destabilize organizational arrangements.

In summary, the content of the Feminist Ideology and Values construct lies as a foundation in organizations. Liberal, socialist, and radical feminisms are some of the common ideologies followed by feminist organizations. From these general ideologies and the values that accompany them, the range of activities, the methods of organizing, and the approach to evaluating actions emerge. Over time these practices and the members' view towards them may change. Corresponding changes are seen in the pattern of commitment. Analyzing the nature of changes and the content of Feminist Ideology and Values because of their centrality to the organization is critical to the construction of an organizational biography.

Feminist Strategy

Along with how the organization began (Founding Context) and what its members believe (Feminist Ideology and Values), an understanding of the organization requires an examination of what the organization does: its strategy. I have grouped three of Martin's dimensions together under the rubric of Feminist Strategy; they are Feminist Goals, Practices, and Feminist Outcomes. Each of these dimensions relates in some way to action. Feminist Goals are defined by Martin (1990) as "action agendas", in other words, formally planned future action. Practices are the strategies and tactics employed and the precise actions of individual organizational members (Martin, 1990). Feminist Outcomes are the overall or macro results of the organizational actions. In summary, the goals are the plans; the practices are the micro level actions; and the outcomes are the more macro level results.

The connection among these three dimensions is similar to the organizational theory concept of strategy; Quinn (1988, p. 3) defines strategy as "the *pattern* or *plan* that *integrates* an organization's major goals, policies, and action sequences into a *cohesive* whole". This definition of strategy incorporates goals, practices, and outcomes under a single construct, strategy. Using this construct as an umbrella for Martin's three dimensions, generates a broader and more distinct category of analysis. Rather than analyzing the dimensions as separate entities, using the concept of strategy provides an analysis of the dimensions individually as well as the interconnections among them. This will yield a stronger and more thorough examination of the organizational specifics and of the connections among events in the organization's history.

Although the concept of strategy might have connotations of planning and designing actions, Mintzberg (1988) argues that there is a continuum of intentionality upon which strategies can be placed. At one end there are "deliberate strategies", those sequences of action that are consciously planned and plotted ahead of time. At the other end of the continuum are "emergent strategies" which are generally defined after the fact because they are recognized as a "pattern in a stream of actions" (Mintzberg, 1988, p. 14). Most organizational strategies fall somewhere between these two ends. Some strategies begin as thoroughly planned exercises, but along the way to completion other factors or ideas exert an influence which redirects the action. Thus, the intended strategy is altered and a new strategy is realized. On the other hand, organizational members in the process of making daily decisions and performing daily tasks may realize that their actions form a pattern, an emergent strategy. If members want to reify this previously unrecognized strategy they may create a formal plan which then alters the emergent strategy to a more deliberate and intended strategy. This continuum opens the definition of strategy to include the actions and outcomes, as well as the goals, of feminist organizations.

The analysis of strategy in feminist organizations has been explored in depth by Jaggar (1983). She argues that the strategies used by feminists are directly tied to the ideological foundations of the particular feminism subscribed to by the group. For example, the foundation of liberal feminism ties this form of feminism to strategies which reflect a belief in the legislative and legal systems, such as lobbying. A difficulty with this analysis of feminist strategy was identified by Briskin (1991) as being too rigid with its categorization, and hence, not an adequate reflection of the variety of strategies used by the followers of each particular form of feminism. Also this method of categorizing feminist strategy does not adequately account for the set of strategies that are employed by many groups of various feminist ideologies.

Briskin (1991), following the lead of Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail (1988), and Westcott and Coakley (1981) in the area of sport, argues for a reclassification of feminist strategies based on two types of strategies, either of which could be used by all classifications of feminists. Centered around what she calls a standpoint of practice, Briskin (1991) defines a continuum with the strategy of mainstreaming at one end and the strategy of disengagement at the other.

> Mainstreaming operates from a desire to reach out to the majority of the population with popular and practical feminist solutions to particular issues, and therefore references major social institutions, such as the family, the workplace, the educational system and the state. (Briskin, 1991, p. 30)

> Disengagement, which operates from a critique of the system and a standpoint outside of it, and a desire, therefore to create alternative

> structures and ideologies, can provide a vision of social transformation. (Ibid, p. 30)

The ideology and the context in which they work determines where along the mainstreaming-disengagement continuum the strategies of each feminist organization will fall.

Briskin (1991) argues that the optimal strategies for feminist organizations lay somewhere between the two ends of the continuum. There is a danger, Briskin suggests, associated with any purely mainstreaming strategy of cooptation and institutionalization; these result in the organization becoming integrated into the patriarchal system and, hence, losing its ability to act as a change agent. Similarly, extreme disengagement strategies are associated with the danger of marginalization, which the incorporation of some mainstreaming tactics could potentially circumvent; as with coopted organizations, the position of marginalized organizations limits their effectiveness in achieving social change.

As with any organizational strategies, the feminist strategies of mainstreaming and disengagement can occur both through deliberate planning and through emergent processes. For instance, a primarily mainstream strategy can be created very deliberately with comprehensively planned lobbying and a formulated agenda for legislation. However, such a strategy may also result from organizational members recognizing a pattern in their primarily mainstream actions: individual members running for public office or writing letters to their political representatives. In the latter case, the strategy might emerge and later be written into a formal plan for future use or to justify actions already taken. Similar scenarios could result with respect to a disengagement strategy.

The Feminist Strategy construct I have defined tracks the Feminist Goals, Feminist Outcomes, and the Practices dimensions of feminist organizations by two means. One track considers the developmental process, which I have discussed following Mintzberg (1988), in terms of the degree to which a strategy has been either deliberately and formally planned or created retrospectively as a consequence of the ongoing behavior of organizational members. The other track delineates the substantive content of a feminist organization's strategy in terms of a continuum between disengagement and mainstreaming, as developed by Briskin (1991).

Structural Components

The discussion so far has dealt with the organizational genesis, the ideology and values, and the strategy. This section addresses the issue of structure. The Structural Component construct consists of three of Martin's dimensions: Structure, Members and Membership, and Scope and Scale, joined together because of the relationships that exist among them.

Structure, Members and Membership, and Scope and Scale, are all comparative dimensions impacting upon each other in Martin's framework.

Within the Structure dimension the intended relationships among members and their work are probed. Inherently important to these prescribed interactions are the characteristics which define membership recruitment, socialization, and termination, Martin's Members and Membership dimension. It is with the members in mind that the structure and systems are created. As well, the chosen geographic scope and scale of the organization impacts the possible structural form and the membership systems that are used to coordinate the group's functioning. In order to assess these three dimensions and their inter-relationships, they have been combined into one construct, Structural Components.

Structural Components, as with the other constructs in this framework, cannot be considered in isolation when examining organizational change. Each construct interfaces with the others to influence the course of the organization's history. Hinings and Greenwood (1988a) and Tushman and Romanelli (1985) posit that organizational structure is founded upon the values and beliefs that are central to the operations of the organization.

> Any set of structures is an expression of a set of values and ideas about the organization and appropriate ways of organizing. It is a means of operationalizing purposes, goals and objectives. (Hinings & Greenwood, 1988, p. 23)

These theorists argue that major, holistic changes to an organization can only occur if changes to the base ideology and values are reflected in changes to the structural configuration.

Alternatively, incremental changes to the structure do not necessarily imply changes to the ideology and values, or the strategy of the organization; such changes may only be indicative of an increasing convergence towards the current organizational state. As systems and structures are employed, organizational members adjust them to suit their needs. Then, as the structures become familiar and comfortable, organizational members rely on them to guide their actions.

> ... by conceiving of structure as a complex medium of control which is continually produced and recreated in interaction and yet shapes that interaction: structures are constituted and constitutive. (Ranson et. al., 1980, p. 3)

This constitutive nature of structures emerges from members' beliefs and expectations that rules, formal relationships, and internal systems will mold interactions among members. In this way structures reinforce the present state of operations even to the detriment of the organization if drastic change is necessary.

It is this resistance to change, or rather the momentum built up from operating within a certain structure, that increases the propensity of an organization to avoid drastic changes. The organizational members' reliance on the structure and systems generally encourages only compatible changes. Tushman, Newman, and Romanelli (1986) describe these periods in which an organization undergoes incremental changes that entrench the organization further in its intended state as periods of "convergent change" (Tushman, et. al., 1986, p. 34). Similarly, Hinings and Greenwood (1988a) explain this phenomenon as organizational inertia towards the design archetype upon which the organization is currently based. In order to break this inertial cycle, discontinuous or revolutionary change must occur. Conditions needed for such change are: a lack of fit within the organization's internal arrangements; a lack of fit between the organization and its external environment (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988a; Kimberly, 1987; Tushman et. al., 1986); and sustained low performance by the organization (Tushman et. al., 1986).

For feminist organizations, the Structural Components construct brings attention to a number of consequences of feminist attempts to incorporate their critiques of traditional organizations into their own organizing. Along with the initial decisions regarding the type and size of organization to create, feminists have made choices regarding authority and membership. The outcomes of these decisions have had significant impact upon the operations of feminist organizations.

The distribution of authority within Canadian feminist organizations has taken primarily two forms, one through the use of formally acknowledged leaders and the other through the notion that all members are equally responsible for the organization[1]. Each method of distributing authority has its positive and negative consequences. Older and more institutionalized women's organizations have generally employed the more traditional methods of organizing which include formal leadership, voting procedures, delegation of various levels of decisions, and in some cases Robert's Rules of Order. In this setting members know who the leaders are and hold them responsible for their actions. However, having the majority decide issues means that "a minority voice is oppressed" (Ristock, 1991, p. 51) and this can be counter productive in the process of empowering members.

In contrast, feminist organizations that operate on the basis of all members being equals, generally use consensus decision making and the rotating of tasks as tools to create this equality. The voice given to each member in the consensus process is stronger than that attained through voting, because in consensus every member has the ability to stop the decision, rather than just the majority vote. But this increase in shared authority has its draw backs since reaching a consensus can be time consuming and difficult.

The rotation of tasks is a means of eliminating authority based on specific offices with specific members. With all members, in turn, chairing meetings and taking on administrative tasks, all members become responsible for the organization. In practice, however, leaders still exist; they are informal leaders who direct the group through the decision making process without having to be accountable for their actions. Because their power is not associated with any formal role, they are not restricted by the rules and responsibilities associated with such a role.

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[1] The ideas presented in the following ten paragraphs regarding authority and membership within Canadian feminist organizations are drawn from Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail's (1988).

The difficulties extending from both models of delegating authority can create conflict. In the more traditional setting conflict is expected and conflict resolution policies can be openly discussed and formed. However, in the equality model, conflict is suppressed and viewed negatively due to the need to generate consensus on all decisions. When conflict arises, Adamson and her colleagues (1988) found there were two reactions to it. Members would either minimize the importance of the conflict while increasing their attention on getting the work done; or, by solely focusing on the conflict, they would reduce the situation to personal problems rather than organizational difficulties.

Structural changes made in light of the complexities surrounding the concept of authority are notable to the study of feminist organizations. They can represent a change in the philosophical approach to conflict or leadership, or a minor adjustment used to get past a particular situation. In either case, a change or lack of change will be incorporated into the organization's history and referenced in future situations.

The inclusionary or exclusionary choices made around the issue of membership is the second factor that greatly impacts the structure and systems in feminist organizations. Again from Adamson, Briskin and McPhail (1988), there are two significant concepts underlying decisions made about membership in feminist organizations: the ideology of sisterhood; and the politics of identity. Each of these reinforce certain modes of operating, but when operating simultaneously often conflict with one another.

The ideology of sisterhood stems from grass-roots feminist organizing. It embodies the ideas that all women are sisters in the struggle to end women's oppression, and that the women's movement belongs to all women. The concept of sisterhood has been translated into an open door policy in many women's organizations where the main requirement for membership is that those wanting to be members be women, regardless of their politics. Having a broad range of personal politics within organizations has led to difficulties.

> This [open door policy] has meant that the integrity of the organization and its politics is constantly being challenged and threatened. Although this process can sometimes be creative, it is more often destructive. (Adamson, Briskin, & McPhail, 1988, p. 241)

By having an open policy on membership, feminist organizations open their groups to debates and struggles regarding their goals, missions, and ideology each time they accept new members.

While the ideology of sisterhood is used to stress the unity among women, the politics of identity is used to emphasize social categories, such as class, race, and sexual orientation, that differentiate women. There are feminist organizations built upon the politics of identity that distinguish women from one another, for instance the Congress of Black Women of

Canada. In such organizations the politics of identity is the central focus. However, for feminist organizations with a diverse membership, difficult and often controversial issues can be raised in the name of the politics of identity. Feminists respond to the added complexity and strain that comes with other members' politics of identity in different ways. They may ignore the differences, accept them, or force those members that emphasize their differences out of the organization (Adamson, et. al., 1988).

On the one hand, feminist organizations may attempt to be open to all women by having minimal membership requirements; but on the other hand, in attempting to provide a safe and comfortable environment, these organizations may informally limit their membership to a select group of women. Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail (1988) suggest that when embracing both the politics of identity and the ideology of sisterhood, feminist organizations are pulled towards being both large and heterogeneous, and small and homogeneous at the same time. The result can be intense conflict which may or may not be allowed to surface publicly.

Because these membership issues surface at the structural level, but have their roots in the ideologies supported by the groups, these difficulties need to be analyzed at both levels. Structural Components are more tangible in the study of organizations, because they are expressions of the values and ideology, and the operationalization of the strategies. Yet, they not only reflect these other organizational aspects, they also create a momentum toward operating in the familiar way. Incremental changes to the structures that support the authority and membership systems may only highlight convergent change. However, discontinuous changes that involve shifts in structures, systems, and the values that underpin them, will impact all levels involved in the membership and authority issues.

External Relations

The addition of organizational change theory to Martin's External Relations dimension produces the final construct used here. Of the four external relations aspects she categories under this dimension, autonomy and network linkages are of lesser consequence to this case study than the legal-corporate status and the funding category. These two aspects are important to this study because of the strong links that bind many women's organizations to government funding agencies.

Organizational theories on the relationship between an organization and its environment have two main focuses, one that centers power with the environment and the other that locates power with the organizational members. The environment has the capacity to influence organizations in two ways: through its degree of stability and through its control over resources. With respect to the first, members' perceptions of the degree of environmental uncertainty have been found to affect the way in which they structure the organization. For instance, the greater the uncertainty, the higher the degree of flexibility built into the organization through increased "boundary spanning". Here, members increase their awareness of events and changes in the environment and create a large insulating barrier between parts of the organization and the environment (Thompson, 1967). By increasing the degree of task differentiation and specialization, the organization can respond rapidly to changes in the environment (Burns and Stalker, 1961; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1969). Alternatively, the organization can enhance its ability to anticipate and adapt to change by increasing its planning and forecasting (Daft, 1986).

Control over resources is the other significant environmental factor. In order to sustain itself, an organization must have access to adequate resources, which are often under the control of external agencies.

> Organizations will give up independence to acquire needed resources. [However] dependence on resources gives power to others. Once the organization relies on others for valued resources, those [other] organizations can influence managerial decision-making. (Daft, 1986, p. 70)

Striking a balance between internal demands for resources and external conditions on resources is necessary for all organizations.

Organizational members gain their power in the field of external relations by being the actors who decide how to create that balance. They choose the domain in which the organization is to operate and thus they choose the environment (Kotter, 1979). By their decisions they also attempt to manage the environment through techniques such as recruiting people with specific environmental ties, advertising, lobbying, and increasing the linkages between their organization and similar organizations all in order to become a more significant player in environmental relations (Robbins, 1987). Because each has a degree of power, there is a constant tension in the relationship between the environment and the organization.

For many Canadian feminist organizations, the primary external relationships are with some level of Canadian government. These ties exist for many of the organizations because they hold a liberal feminist ideology which supports change through legislative and legal institutions and processes. Linkages with the state also exist because of the funding opportunities provided by these agencies. Organizational members must balance the funding needs of the organization against the conditions imposed on the organization by a relationship with the state.

In creating this balance two factors emerge. The first factor concerns the domain chosen by the feminist organization. The governments of Canada are comprised of many layers and levels. Thus, feminist organizations have options regarding their funding source. In this way feminists can strengthen their position with respect to funding and reduce the uncertainty in their relations with the state.

The multiple levels of government are also an advantage to the state side of the relationship. Because of its complexity there is a

> ... contradictory unity of the state in terms of the outcomes of its action which support dominant groups in society in the long run, yet which may grant short term gains to disadvantaged groups as a result of negotiations among conflicting interests. (Randall, 1988, p. 14)

Feminists seeking to change society, and therefore the state, need to be aware of the hegemonic forces in society which act to generate only short term gains for women and perpetuate the values of the dominant white, upper-middle class males. One method of limiting feminists' gains has been to redefine and rename the issue (Findlay, 1988; Randall, 1988). Barnsley (1988) sites a clear example of renaming the issue in her discussion of wife battering. In working with the United Way on their Wife Abuse Committee she found that wife battering was retitled to family violence which effectively hide the male perpetrator of the crime and also the female victim. Thus, the committee moved away from dealing with a woman's issue. Lost in the redefinition of issues is the critical and often radical analysis of society.

Similar to feminist organizations, the state departments can also choose their domain. As Findlay (1988) argued, the Canadian state in the 1970s negotiated with feminists at the level of generating government policies; and then in the 1980s feminists were asked to participate in the creation of implementation plans rather than the definition of policies. The state had shifted its domain with respect to feminist organizations from the level of parliament to the level of the bureaucracy.

Mediating between the organization's need for state resources and the need to change the state is a difficulty for feminist organizations. As previously discussed, feminist organizations act on the continuum between mainstreaming and disengagement. With respect to their relationship with the Canadian state, the two extremes of cooptation and marginalization are always present. As Barnsley (1988, p. 21) states

> To refuse to play by the state's rules and ideology, to refuse to accept the state's response as good enough, is to risk loss of credibility and visibility for women's issues and women's experience. Yet accepting the state's values and frameworks produces the same result: the institutionalization of women's issues and invalidation of women's experience.

Because of the significant role the state plays, both as a site for social change and as a funding source, in the history of many feminist organizations, it is critical to plot and analyze the organization - state relationship in a feminist organizational biography.

CHAPTER 3

PHASE ONE (1980 TO 1985)

On March 20, 1981 a small group of women and men voted unanimously to form the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport (CAAWS). They had come together as invited delegates to a workshop titled "Advancement of Women in Sport - A Planning Workshop" at McMaster University. A professional facilitator led thirty-six delegates through an examination of the issues of whether or not an organization to advance women in sport was needed, and if so, what business would it be in, and who would it serve. The workshop concluded with the formation of a national feminist advocacy organization dedicated to improving the status of women in sport, CAAWS.

The study begins prior to the founding of CAAWS and examines the context in which it was formed. The biography then extends over the first ten years of operations in order to review and probe organizational events and the reasons for them. From preliminary analysis based on the reading of organizational documents and seven interviews it was found that CAAWS underwent two convergent change periods and three periods of discontinuous change. The former type of change consists of modifications that entrench the organization further in its current operating state. Discontinuous change involves "simultaneous and sharp shifts in strategy, power, structure, and controls" (Tushman, Newman, and Romanelli, 1986, p. 31). I consider the founding of CAAWS to be a discontinuous change from the previous situation. Discussion of these periods of major changes followed by the periods of incremental change are divided among chapters three, four, and five. Chapter three includes the discontinuous change that was the founding period, from approximately 1980 to 1982, and the convergent changes occurring from 1982 to 1985. Chapter four covers from 1985 to 1987, a period of major change, and from 1987 to 1989, a more stable period. Chapter five concludes the ten year biography by outlining the discontinuous changes occurring between 1989 and 1991.

As outlined in chapter two some external events and internal decisions and actions made during the creation of an organization have a significant effect upon the organization's future (Kimberly, 1987; Kimberly and Rottman, 1987; Stinchcombe, 1965). While exploring CAAWS operations between 1980 and 1985, I will be looking for potentially important decisions and events in each of the constructs in order to trace their future impact. As well, understanding the founding period is critical to analyzing the connections among the constructs. To begin with the Founding Context construct is explored. The biography then expands as specific details about CAAWS are illuminated within the Feminist Ideology and Values, Feminist Strategy, Structural Components, and External Relations constructs.

FOUNDING CONTEXT

Founding Circumstances

Social-technology is transferred into new organizations because of the reliance of the new entity on its environment for legitimacy and resources (Child and Kieser, 1980; Stinchcombe, 1965). A major portion of the environment for CAAWS was the women's movement. To assess what was seen as legitimate and worthy of resources in this environment the circumstances in these areas will now be examined.

From the late 1970s to the mid 1980s the women's movement was changing in three ways. First, women's groups took steps to form alliances and coalitions among themselves. Second, the women's "movement was defending its gains against the right and enlarging its definition of feminism" (Adamson, et al., p. 29), hence its domain of legitimate activity. Third, negotiating the status between women's groups and various levels of government was changing from participation through policy making to involvement in implementing policies at the bureaucratic level (Findlay, 1988). These changes in relations among women's groups, in the definition of the feminist domain, and in the relations between women's groups and governments are reflected in the formation of CAAWS. The discussion that follows examines how these three circumstances impacted the founding of CAAWS.

Feminists interested in the status of women in sport worked to improve the situation primarily on an individual basis throughout the 1970s. The creation of coalitions in the Canadian women's movement was manifested by women in sport as they began to connect with each other. Beginning in 1974 with the first National Conference on Women in Sport, interested individuals started increasing their networking through small and large workshops and conferences. For instance, women in Saskatchewan organized a provincial conference, Sport and Recreation as it affects Women, in 1975, followed by a provincial leadership workshop for women in 1976. As well, in 1978 the 6th Commonwealth Conference in Edmonton contained a group of sessions dealing with women in sport. Because of such forums and personal networking, the state of awareness of women in sport issues greatly increased during the 1970s.

The heightened awareness about women in sport issues was evident when four hundred delegates from Canada and the United States attended the 1980 Female Athlete Conference, held at Simon Fraser University. This conference signifies both the beginning of feminists organizing around women in sport issues and the expansion of the legitimate domain of feminists. A conference delegate commented, some of the women attending The Female Athlete Conference had two agendas, the first was to participate in the conference and the

> second agenda was to say look we had the Women and Sport Conference in Toronto back in '74 and all those wonderful recommendations; nothing came out of it. What are we going to do about it? (Kelly)

A number of the delegates attending the 1980 Conference articulated and discussed alternatives to individual action. To this end an eight-member committee summarized the recommendations put forward during the conference into action proposals. One proposal which held special significance to the founding of CAAWS was the recommendation for the Federal Government to

> establish a National Women's Sport Foundation[1] to serve as a communication network and advocacy group across the country. (Popma, 1980, p. 185)

The recommendation shows the movement towards organized feminist action, away from individual actions and foreshadows the future involvement of the Federal Government.

After building networks amongst themselves feminists in sport began to create linkages with the Canadian women's movement. Among the delegates at the founding meeting of CAAWS were representatives of three national feminist organizations: The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW), and the National Association of Women and the Law (NAWL) (CAAWS, Annual General Meeting Report, 1982). By exposing these delegates to women in sport issues an attempt was made to bring sport onto the agenda of the Canadian women's movement and legitimate feminist concerns for sport.

> But in 1982-83 it was up-hill. You had to convince people that sport wasn't wholeheartedly good for every participant, that things weren't working as they should. ... Where in 1982 we felt like we were a small insignificant part and we were a voice with the wilderness around us because most feminists didn't think sport was an issue. (Janet)

During the late 1970s and early 1980s changes beyond alliance-forming and expansion of the feminist domain were happening. The relations among women's groups and between women's groups and the state were also being changed. Findlay (1988) states that the Canadian government in the 1980s increasingly took up the issues of the women's movement, such as wife abuse, rape, abortion, and equal pay for equal work. This extended into the sport field in 1980. The Women's Program under the Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch of the Federal Government assisted in organizing and hosting the weekend seminar which became the founding meeting of CAAWS.

Realizing the limitations of a government supported program for females in sport, the first manager of the Women's Program used her position and the program resources to support the creation of a non-governmental advocacy organization, CAAWS (Macintosh, Bedecki, & Franks, 1987). By looking into similar concerns CAAWS could monitor the government program and be an external advocate for change, thereby reducing some of the institutionalization that may have occurred if a government department was the only organization dealing with women's demands for change in the sport system.

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[1] The Women's Sports Foundation was an American organization founded in 1974 which worked toward equality for females in sport.

These three alterations in the Canadian women's movement were imprinted into CAAWS. First, alliances were formed by individuals and further connections to larger women's organizations were attempted at the founding meeting. Second, within the women's movement CAAWS members were on the periphery, pushing the domain to include sport as a legitimate feminist concern. Third, in order to avoid having women in sport issues institutionalized into government terms, feminists within the Fitness and Amateur Sport Branch used government resources to support the creation of CAAWS as an independent advocacy organization. Each of these factors contributes to the development of CAAWS.

Founding Leaders

The founding leaders play a critical role in transmitting the social-technology into the new organization (Boeker, 1988). They influence the future of the organization through their actions and decisions, and the strength of this influence depends upon the length of their tenure (Boeker, 1989). Within CAAWS the founding leaders come from two groups of women whose involvement was significant. Assessment of these women and their impact on the organization consists of examining their employment and their sport backgrounds; the connections among these women; and the extent of their involvement in CAAWS.

The first of these two groups are the founders. Ten of these women formed an Interim Planning Committee (IPC) which over a one year period, beginning at the founding meeting, consolidated and formulated the ideas presented at the founding into the systems, structures, and philosophy that would be CAAWS. IPC members included Olympians, professors, sport administrators, and Federal Government employees; they were all exceptional leaders in their fields (CAAWS, AGM Background Information Package, 1983). Of particular significance were Abby Hoffman and Sue Vail, two Federal Government employees. In their positions as Director General of Sport Canada and Director of the Women's Program in Fitness and Amateur Sport, respectively, they added credibility, legitimacy, and financial support during the initial development of CAAWS.

All IPC members lived in Ontario and the majority were in the Ottawa area. This close proximity allowed them to meet six times over the year; no other set of directors in the ten year history of CAAWS met this often due to the financial costs of being geographically dispersed. The majority of IPC members played significant roles in future years possibly due to their central role in creating CAAWS and perhaps due to their relationships with each other. Seven out of nine returned to the CAAWS Board at various times. The tenth IPC member, Abby Hoffman, could not participate because her employment with Sport Canada created a conflict of interest with CAAWS.

Along with the IPC members, there were three other founders whose contributions to CAAWS were significant. The involvement of the founders, in CAAWS is noteworthy because of their returning pattern. In 1983 five out of these thirteen women belonged to the National Board of Directors, and in 1986, seven of these women were Directors.

The second group of women classified as founding leaders were those elected to the first Board of Directors in 1982, who had not been founders. The 1982 Board implemented the ideas generated by the IPC members and ratified by the membership. This task of getting CAAWS up and running created a closeness between these women and CAAWS. They, like the founding members, returned to the Board in future years in significant numbers. This group consisted of twelve women, three of whom returned to serve after 1984. Between 1986 and 1989 the composition of the national Board consistently included two of these women.

The graph in Figure 1, page 34, summarizes the participation rates of the founding leaders according to the two groups identified above. The light grey bars illustrate the number of founding members on the National Board of Directors between 1981 to 1991. The peak of their participation after 1983 was in 1986. The white bars represent the participation rate of the 1982 Board members, who were not founding members, over the same period. Of note is the high rate of involvement between 1987 and 1989. The black bars show the combined participation rate for these two groups. These women consistently comprised more than fifteen percent of the Board and reached forty percent at their peak. Their high rate of involvement supports the idea that their actions and decisions may have played a significant role in the history of CAAWS. Information in the other constructs and chapters will help determine the impact these women had on CAAWS.

FEMINIST IDEOLOGY AND VALUES

Ideology and Values

From its founding onward CAAWS endorsed feminist beliefs. The specific beliefs supported will be delineated through an examination of the Feminist Ideology and Values dimensions. In 1982 the IPC proposed a Statement of Philosophy to the general membership. It contained the basis of an ideological position for the organization to take, and hence, it will be the starting point for the study of the values and beliefs. Additional information will be gleaned by using the concept of interpretive schemes as

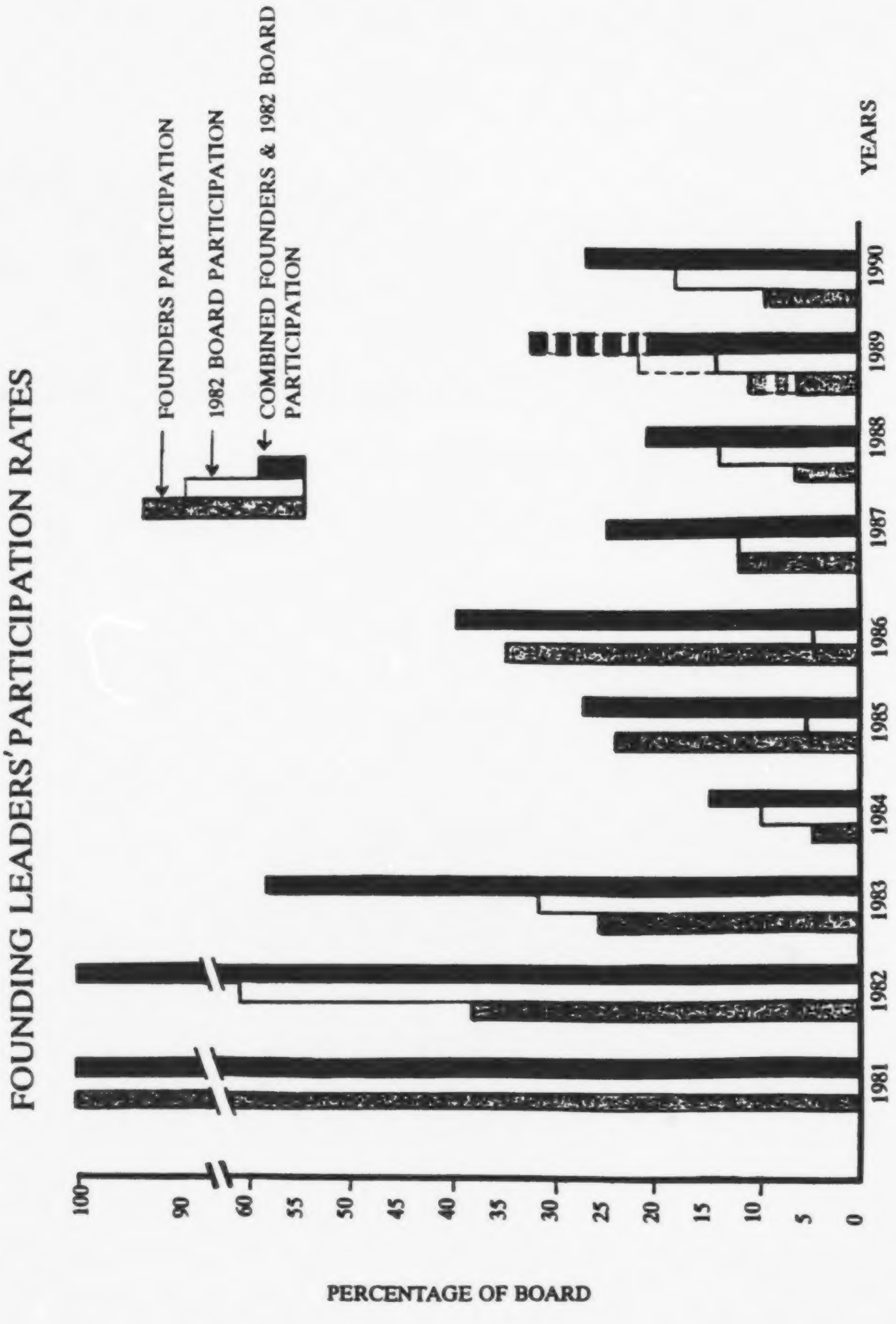

Figure 1: Founding Leaders' Participation Rates

subdivided by Hinings and Greenwood (1988a) into its three components: domain of operations, principles of organizing, and criteria for evaluation. After surveying these areas the members' commitment level to the identified values and ideology found will be examined.

CAAWS Statement of Philosophy

During their 1981 to 1982 term the IPC created a Statement of Philosophy for CAAWS containing an explanation of feminism, feminism's major goals, connections between feminism and sport, and strategies for change. As such, it outlined an ideology from which CAAWS members could work. In general, the sections explaining feminism, its goals, and its connection to sport described a liberal feminist framework. The views of oppression stressed: the unequal sharing of opportunities, resources, and power based on sex; the molding of people's attitudes and activities according to specified sex-roles; the defining role that reproduction has come to play in limiting women's careers; and the exaggerated differences in physical capacity between women and men (CAAWS, AGM Kit, 1982). A copy of the Statement of Philosophy appears in Appendix A. According to Code (1988, p. 35) the focus of the "Statement of Philosophy" on equal rights and discrimination is characteristic of a liberal feminist perspective of women's oppression. However, the ideology supported by CAAWS has more than this one facet.

Following the 1982 AGM the "Statement of Philosophy" needed changes made to the Feminist Analysis of Inequality in Sport and the Strategy for Change sections in order to reflect the views of the general membership at that time. The main body of the text describing a liberal feminist approach to viewing sport drew few comments from delegates and required only minor changes (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1982). Therefore, I believe that most delegates supported the liberal feminist framework proposed.

CAAWS members never incorporated the Statement of Philosophy into the organization for a variety of reasons. After the 1982 AGM concluded the newly elected Board of Directors primarily focused their energies on operationalizing the structures and systems of CAAWS and not into further planning and theorizing. "The less immediate and in some respects less relevant matter of the position paper faded in importance and was largely forgotten" (CAAWS, Memo, 1983, p. 1). Secondly, the 1982 Board supported different values than the IPC. As a CAAWS Board member at that time reported, the IPC members were quite conservative compared to the 1982 Board members who were vocal critics of the system and more activist. She believed that the 1982 Board had difficulty reconciling their ideas with those in the document.

Thirdly, a reason for not adopting the document was given by a Board member at that time. She explained that the Statement of Philosophy could and probably would always be debatable due to the large number of different personal philosophies within the membership (CAAWS, Memo, 1983).

Because no other statement regarding the ideological stance of CAAWS was ever written and because little criticism of the liberal feminist approach in the Statement was voiced, I believe that CAAWS members primarily support this view for the organization. To extract more information concerning the ideology and values the components of interpretive schemes, domain of operations, the principles of organizing, and the criteria of evaluation will now be studied.

Domain of Operations

At the founding meeting the delegates created three important aspects of the new organization: the name, the mandate, and the definition of sport to be used. It is through these aspects that the operating domain can be seen. The name chosen for the new organization reflected the delegates' commitment to bringing a feminist perspective to the analysis of women in sport. The word "and" in the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women **and** Sport stressed the connection seen by the founders between women's status in sport and women's status in Canadian society. Delegate Nancy Theberge (1983) reports that one of the reasons for using the word "and" rather than "in" was that "the advancement of women in sport will only be achieved as the condition of women in general is improved" (p. 80). The other reason she explains for using "and" was that sport also needed advancement beyond its current state which "emphasized commercialism, violence, and performance rather than participation" (Ibid., p. 80). So, from the creation of the name alone the 1981 delegates established CAAWS as an organization that would work towards the advancement of all women, of women in sport, and of sport itself.

The second aspect of the organization's domain, outlined at the founding meeting, was the mandate. After discussing the question: what is feminism and how does it relate to sport, the initial skepticism of delegates turned to positive support for the idea of using a feminist analysis to better understand sport. At this point they incorporated their belief in a holistic approach to social change and feminism into an organizational mandate. It read: CAAWS seeks

> to advance the position of women by defining, promoting and supporting a feminist perspective on sport and to improve the status of women in sport. (CAAWS, AGM Kit, 1982)

The phrase "to advance the position of women" highlights the founders' values for the connection between CAAWS and the women's movement. This mandate also expresses the founders' support for feminism as an approach to analyzing sport. Consequently, the organization's name and its mandate, which later became its mission statement, illustrate the strong link that CAAWS founders wanted to have with feminism and the women's movement.

The third aspect of the domain established by the founders defined the word sport as it was to be used in the name and mandate. Sport was "any form of activity, fitness or health-oriented groups" from highly organized, competitive sport to ad hoc recreational pursuits (CAAWS Annual General Meeting Report, 1982, p. 4). In conjunction with this, three target groups were selected:

> 1. The Grass Roots (those with little connection to organized sport, recreation and fitness), e.g. adolescent girls, adult women, seniors, disabled women
>
> 2. Female Athletes who are part of the organized sport delivery system
>
> 3. Career-oriented women in sport, recreation and fitness, e.g. sport administrators, coaches, teachers
>
> (CAAWS Background Information, 1983, p. 6)

In general, the domain of activity for CAAWS was defined broadly. The domain extended beyond the realm of sport, so that activities advancing the status of all women were also legitimate. It included the advancement of women who participated in organized or informal forms of sport and those who participated in the administration of such activities. The name, mandate, and definition of sport promoted by CAAWS combined to create a large domain, or target market, which could be approached with a great variety of activities and strategies.

Principles of Organizing

The second aspect of interpretive schemes is the principles upon which group members organize themselves. For CAAWS, the basic principles of organizing were generated in three stages. First, the founders set out four primary activity areas: internal and external communications, leadership development, research, and political advocacy. Second, the IPC designed general organizing principles and a structure to support them. Third, the delegates at the 1982 AGM supplemented these ideas with some of their own.

The suggestions of the IPC combined with the recommendations from the 1982 AGM delegates produced a set of organizing principles. They were listed in the CAAWS Annual General Meeting Report (1982) and in the CAAWS Background Information Package given to delegates at the 1983 AGM. CAAWS would be comprised of individuals joining the organization through local groups or through the national association for the purposes of advocacy and networking. The individual members of each province and territory would be represented by a member on the Board of Directors. In order to be an accessible national organization the membership fees would be kept low. The provincial groups would seek funding from provincial sources, and the national organization would acquire federal funding. There was a desire for CAAWS to be self-sufficient with respect to funding, however this task was seen as very difficult given low membership fees and an advocacy focus.

Informal links to other women's movement organizations would be created and maintained through personal contacts and networks. If necessary, individual CAAWS members would act in consulting and advisory capacities with the other organizations. From the initial principles of organizing it is seen that early members wanted CAAWS to be an open national organization. They sought to minimize barriers to participation through low membership fees and by focusing on individual rather than group memberships. As well, they valued informal connections between CAAWS and other women's groups.

Evaluation Criteria

The final function to be used in identifying the ideology and values of CAAWS is the criteria for evaluation. From the 1981 and 1982 documents, it is clear that the founding leaders sought to tie the evaluation of CAAWS activities to feminism. In the ideas brought forward for ratification at the 1982 AGM was a set of criteria for evaluating whether or not an activity should be pursued. These five conditions came from Charlotte Bunch's article called "The Reform Tool Kit", which was first published in 1977. Under these feminist criteria, members' actions could vary in approach as long as they advanced women's education, material wealth, psychological health, political capacity, and/or if they weakened the patriarchy. An exact listing of these criteria can be found in Appendix B. CAAWS members realized that not every action taken would advance all five criteria, but it was agreed that no action should ever oppose any of the criteria (CAAWS, Background Information, 1983, p. 9). By endorsing this set of criteria feminism was in another way incorporated into the foundation of CAAWS.

Summary of Ideology and Values

By examining the Statement of Philosophy and the three components of interpretive schemes, the feminist ideology and values supported by CAAWS have been illuminated. The information from the three areas provides a general picture of the ideology and values supported by CAAWS. Overall, there was a vagueness to the foundation of CAAWS. The domain was broad with the mandate identifying the purpose generally to advance the position of women and sport through four activity areas and three diverse target groups which covered all Canadian women and girls. It officially endorsed feminism in its mandate, by analyzing sport from a feminist perspective, and through its evaluation criteria, where improvements to women's conditions were stressed. Support for a liberal feminist approach is indicated by the members' interest in working for and with women in the sport system as well as emphasizing the need for equal opportunity and elimination of discrimination based on biological determinism.

It has been argued that there is an overriding ideology followed within Canadian women's movement, one of CAAWS' sectors. The ideology is called 'radical liberalism' (Richardson, 1983; Vickers, 1989 cited in Vickers, 1991, p. 80) and described as:

> A commitment to the ordinary political process is central to [the Canadian women's movement's] values. Its other values include: a belief in the efficacy of state action, especially of the welfare state; a belief that change is possible; a belief that dialogue with those who differ may be useful; and a belief that helping others in service organizations is a valid contribution to change (Vickers, 1989).

Given that the founding leaders continually stressed the importance of linking CAAWS to the women's movement, specifically in naming CAAWS and in creating its initial operating and evaluation principles, it is possible that radical liberalism was adopted into the organization with little formal recognition.

Commitment to Feminist Ideology and Values

Commitment to operating from a feminist approach was indicated through the strong vocal support for the connections espoused in the philosophy and plans of the IPC between feminism and sport, and between CAAWS and the women's movement (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1982). However, without the ratification of a specific definition of feminism to work from, there were a range of opinions regarding how liberal the group should be. One participant on the 1982 Board expressed the diversity of opinions in the following way.

> I mean there was a lot of very middle of the road, politically speaking, sport administrators in that first founding meeting. And they were quite freaked out by women who had been working say in feminist movements or violence against women or various political groups that were saying "we can't make this kind of change from the inside; we care about women in sport". So, there was really a diverse opinion and I think that was a real tension. (Allison)

Beyond the general feeling of tension between the various members there were two instances where alternative sets of values came to light during the 1982 AGM discussions.

The first issue, the membership debate, as stated in the CAAWS Annual General Meeting Minutes (1982), centered on the level of participation within CAAWS that men would be permitted to attain. After much discussion it was decided in a twenty-five to ten vote that males could join the organization, but they would not have voting status. One aspect of the debate centered on the importance of ensuring that women be in complete control of the organization. The inclusion of men was also justified because men, who in general controlled Canadian sport, would be more cooperative with an organization which allowed male members (Jaggar, 1988). Those who voted to exclude men totally were supporting a more radical feminist stance; whereas the majority that endorsed male membership argued from a more liberal feminism which believes in working with the existing system towards change. Still, due to the large number of opposing votes it was decided that after one year of operation the issue could be re-opened at any time. In the ten years since this decision was made the issue of male membership has not been re-opened.

The second contentious issue was the lack of attention in the IPC's position paper to barriers that inhibit participation in sport and perhaps in CAAWS, specifically economic status and sexual orientation (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1982). The organization was divided into those who thought it critical that CAAWS as a feminist organization be concerned with the barriers to participation created by sexual preference, and those who did not consider sexual orientation an important organizational issue. The later were supporting a more liberal feminist standpoint. As Jaggar (1988, p. 180) explains "Within the liberal framework, sexual activity is paradigmatically a private matter unless it infringes on the rights of other individuals". Therefore, to liberal feminist members, lesbianism was not a political issue; it was a personal matter of choice. Whereas the other women viewed it as an important factor in the oppression of women that needed to be addressed. The discussion on this issue closed when delegates reached a consensus on how they would proceed regarding these barriers.

> ... and the general consensus was that C.A.A.W.S. would encourage membership from a wide scope of women and consequently our membership would vary in economic class and sexual orientation. Concern about barriers in general will be integral to C.A.A.W.S., but neither of the two barriers discussed will be of primary focus in the coming months. (CAAWS Annual General Meeting Report, 1982, p. 7)

Identifying sexual orientation as an issue in sport and agreeing to delay its formal discussion created continuing tension in CAAWS.

Informally, between 1982 and 1985, members discussed and worried about the issue of lesbianism and CAAWS' non-position on it. For some, lesbians were becoming too visible in the organization, and CAAWS' image, that of a lesbian organization, was not appealing to all women (Lenskyj, 1991). Some women would not join because they disagreed with being openly in support of lesbianism. Others would not join because being connected with a "lesbian" organization might force them out of the closet, and threaten their employment. Allison recalled the homophobia this way:

> So, there was a lot of fear in those first two or three years, that if we even said the word lesbian in our meetings that nobody would join and

> suddenly our organization wouldn't have impact. And some of that fear is well grounded, but it was very divisive for a long time.

Not having resolved the issue resulted in some of the members growing impatient with the "navel gazing", as some members termed the debates, and other members feeling uncomfortable with not having fully dealt with the issue.

In 1982 there was a commitment to a liberal feminist stance with some support voiced for a less conservative view on male membership and sexual orientation. Between 1982 and 1985 the male membership issue faded away, but tension between the two perspectives on the place of lesbians within CAAWS grew in prominence. The CAAWS-BC chapter had the most difficult struggle with this issue. They closed their office and ceased their activities in mid-1985 due in part to the pressures of homophobia and exhaustion of CAAWS-BC members. The increase in tension and the closure of the Vancouver chapter were the incremental changes noted during this early period. Support for the other values identified remain constant, as did the liberal feminist approach.

FEMINIST STRATEGY

The two continuums in the Feminist Strategy construct are the strategies themselves -- mainstreaming-disengagement -- and the way the strategies come about -- deliberate-emergent. To illuminate the strategy of CAAWS, the analysis will first examine the deliberate goals created by the IPC. These will then be assessed according to where they fall on the mainstream-disengagement continuum. Following this, the activities that CAAWS members pursued between 1982 and 1985 will be examined first for how planned they were and secondly, for the type of feminist approach they used.

Deliberate Feminist Strategy

The position paper created by the IPC contained not only a Statement of Philosophy but also a set of eight goals. These goals were based on the liberal feminist philosophy espoused in the rest of the paper. Although the general membership at the 1982 AGM recommended amendments to the position paper, the goals appeared in future documents, such as the CAAWS Background Information Package given out at the 1983 AGM, unrevised. These initial goals were:

> 1. Eradicate sexism in sport.
> 2. Design new models for sport and strategies for change that fit the criteria for feminist reform.
> 3. Develop and maintain a network to promote participation and lobby for change.

> 4. Provide a support system for individual and collective initiatives that help women function in the existing sport system.
> 5. Develop a feminist analysis of sport.
> 6. Through education and consciousness-raising, develop an awareness of sexism in sport and strategies for change.
> 7. Facilitate greater involvement of women in all aspects of sport.
> 8. Contribute to the women's movement and social change in favor of women generally.
>
> (CAAWS, Annual General Meeting Kit, 1982)

There are three aspects of particular note regarding these statements. First, overall they address a wide range of areas and activities in which CAAWS members could get involved, from creating new models of sport, to lobbying for change, to educating the public about sexism in sport, and as such they extend over the four activity areas: communications, leadership, research, and advocacy. Second, they support a liberal feminist approach to change by emphasizing education, lobbying to change the current system, supporting women currently in the system, and encouraging increased participation in the existing system (Adamson, et al., 1988; Code, 1988; Jaggar, 1988).

Third, these goals consist primarily of a mainstream feminist strategy with goals 2 and 5 potentially being of a more disengagement type of strategy. Designing new models for sport, goal 2, could mean facilitating new types of sport within the existing system, or from a disengagement perspective new models could be generated totally separate and isolated from the existing sport system. Similarly, developing a feminist analysis of sport, goal 5, could be approached from a perspective that leaves the existing system basically intact but reforms certain areas of it; or it could critique the entire system and stress the need for a new separate system founded on feminist values and concepts.

The various interpretations of the goals were reflected in the discussions of Board members.

> Initially, when CAAWS met ... there were 3 terms that were used a lot, and that was whether or not we were going to be a reform organization which was to work with existing organizations, like other sport groups, to reform what was going on; whether or not we were going to be - a marginal group which meant that we placed ourselves so that we could accept funding from everybody but that we were outside the system, but not really belonging to the system, but nice people so that we could receive funding and how radical could the group be: reform versus radical. Radical not in the way of being revolutionary but radical in the way of really trying to bring about interesting but often threatening changes to the system. (Felicia)

So, not only were there alternative perspectives concerning parts of the ideology, but also regarding the initial strategy. Although, in general, the initial set of goals were mainstream and consistent with the liberal feminist perspective and broad domain identified in the Feminist Ideology and Values construct.

Emergent Feminist Strategy

After the formulation and discussion of the above goals, the 1982 CAAWS Board of Directors began to operationalize the goals. Knowing where to begin was difficult because their analysis of the situation for women in sport highlighted the complexity of both the issues and the solutions needed.

> The challenge out there is enormous, and we would get lost in the bigger issues. And then bring ourselves back [to the question] what can we actually do about it. And even our overwhelmingly impossible tasks that we set ourselves seemed piddly in the face of what needed to be done. (Olivia)

Given the magnitude and complexity of the task facing the members, the goals, mandate, and activity areas created by the IPC did not provide an overall plan on how to create these changes. So, faced with this enormous task any activities that members wanted to pursue that generally fit within the goals were accepted under the umbrella of CAAWS work.

> So, I mean that is significant, a small patchwork, catch what ever you can, grab the opportunity and go in that direction. There is tons of criticism you can give CAAWS in terms of not being true to its philosophy, being opportunist, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, but the impact for a young organization has been quite phenomenal. (Allison)

From this free flowing approach, many diverse activities were undertaken from 1982 to 1985. They, retrospectively, provided greater clarity to the initial goals by being practical applications of them.

From the members' activities three significant patterns emerged. First, activities were pursued in all four planned activity areas. Second, as a national organization the work in the activity areas ended up being divided according to geographic location. Third, the application of some of the activities resulted in a method to link CAAWS members together. To discuss these patterns in more detail I will begin by describing how and why the different local CAAWS chapters involved themselves in various work. The information leading to a recognition of this unspoken strategy has been drawn from 1983, 1984, and 1985 Annual General Meeting minutes and reports, and articles written by CAAWS members.

Of the four activity areas, the Eastern regions focused on advocacy and research, and the Western regions concentrated on communications and leadership. Ottawa and Toronto were the primary centers for activity in the East. Because of their proximity to the Federal and Ontario Provincial Governments these CAAWS members concentrated on liaising with government officials, national sport organizations, and national women's organizations. They also focused on writing government grant proposals and lobbying all levels of government for change.

In the West, Vancouver had the most active CAAWS chapter. Members here generally took on a more project oriented approach to CAAWS work rather than the advocacy approach used in Ontario. As a Board member from that period explained

> There was a real emphasis on leadership and communication partly because, from this perspective now, I can say that they were politically pretty safe. You can always talk about [how] women need networking and communication, and they need more leadership skills. (Darlene)

Newsletters, a slide show, a media kit, and workshops on leadership and human rights were some of the projects undertaken.

Although the Eastern and Western chapters focused on different types of activities a strategy emerged which unified their efforts. The unplanned strategy maximized the use of findings and results of projects and advocacy work by transmitting them to all members via the CAAWS network and the annual national conferences. Research regarding facility usage, model development around the concept of organizing, and information stemming from advocacy work concerning human rights were three activities which illuminate how this strategy emerged.

The 1983 conference established a starting point for members' understanding of issues facing women in sport. Statistics illuminating current situations, such as Declining Participation of Teenage Females, Canadian University Athletics Programs, and Facility Usage were presented (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1983). The facility usage statistics were derived from a study of publicly funded sport facilities in two cities. In Hamilton, members plotted the usage patterns of ice rinks, fields, pools, and gymnasiums. A similar study in Vancouver examined ice rinks and fields, and the policies underlying the usage schemes (Baxter, 1983a). Beyond providing statistics, the 1983 instructional session at the national conference explained how to monitor existing sports programs by applying methods used in these studies (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1983). By the 1984 conference, more information had been gathered and recommendations for change were discussed (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1984).

With regard to model development a CAAWS-BC member produced a booklet entitled *Organize*, which was designed to guide women from all social and economic backgrounds through the process of organizing physical activity programs that would best meet their particular needs. As a tool for the advancement of women it supported the belief that all women "should be able to participate in some form of physical recreation" (Baxter, 1983b, p. 3). It was a tool that was useful in creating opportunities when the facility studies had shown the limits that were being placed on female participation. *Organize* was shared and promoted within CAAWS through two seminars hosted in Alberta (Alberta CAAW&S Workshops Report, 1984) and via the 1984 national conference. Because the first two conferences taught members how to monitor and evaluate facility usage and how to create new opportunities, the 1985 conference concentrated on how to raise funds for your program, how to work with volunteers, and how to lobby for change (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1985). Thus, the conference development of these two projects moved the general membership from a focus on the statistical information of specific problems to the generation and implementation of solutions.

The work done around human rights advocacy is the third example which illustrates the emergent strategy that linked the members and their efforts together. Individuals and small groups of Ontario CAAWS members took active and vocal roles in monitoring and protesting against subsection 19(2) of the Ontario Human Rights Code. The Code, which had become effective as of 1981, permitted discrimination within athletics based on sex (Lenskyj, 1984a). In Ottawa, CAAWS members wrote and presented a brief to one of the hearings held by the Sopinka Task Force, a committee created in response to the public outcry against S. 19(2) that focused on equal opportunity in athletics. Out of this research and advocacy CAAWS developed a workshop for the 1983 national conference describing the legal and administrative problems of the Ontario Human Rights Code. As with most workshops this one concluded with strategies for action (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1983).

As the Sopinka Committee released the first volume of the report, *Can I Play?,* late in 1983, CAAWS and the FAS Women's Program formed a joint committee to examine ways to create equality for females who participate in sport. The committee, with principal researcher Helen Lenskyj, a CAAWS member, produced a discussion paper entitled *Female Participation in Sport: the Issue of Integration versus Separate but Equal,* published in April, 1984 (Lenskyj, 1984b). This resulted in a workshop at the 1984 national conference dealing with the three major options for achieving gender equality in sport participation: integration, separate-but-equal, and combined approach, presented in the discussion paper (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1984).

Another step in sharing the work on the Ontario Human Rights Code was through local workshops. Three workshops, held in Victoria, Prince George, and Port Coquitlam, consisted of a review of the human rights issue and a presentation of a local case of discrimination (CAAW+S workshops on sport, 1985). In Victoria, Helen Lenskyj led the review of the discussion paper, *Female Participation in Sport,* and the experiences of the only girl playing on the local boy's hockey team were presented. In a somewhat similar session, Helen Lenskyj presented her research at an Edmonton seminar in May, 1985 (CAAWS, Report, 1985). In these regional discussions members considered the various options; then, linking local ideas to the national level the 1985 conference participants reviewed their findings and created strategies to carry themselves forward as a group on this issue (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1985).

The use of local workshops and national conferences to share information provided CAAWS members with an opportunity to grow and develop in their understanding of the issue of Human Rights. They progressed from gaining a basic knowledge of the Ontario Code in 1983 to examining alternative frameworks to creating their own potential solutions. Juxtaposing these events with those of the previous two examples it is seen that while there was a focus on individuals creating new opportunities, there was also advocacy for broader social changes.

In contrast to the emergent pattern formed through the sharing of results from diverse activities, an alternative strategy to link the CAAWS network was attempted between 1984 and 1986. A program called Walk and Roll began from the perspective that CAAWS could develop as a network by all chapters participating in the same activity on the same day. *Walk and Roll* was an activity held in conjunction with *National Physical Activity Week* in which participants walked, ran, jogged, biked, or rolled through a course set by a local organizing group. Through *Walk and Roll* CAAWS sought to promote physical activity for women and girls through a fun, non-competitive, mass participation event; to advocate by providing information concerning the benefits of physical activity and the issues women face in being physically active; and to develop the CAAWS network by attracting members and increasing its visibility as an organization (Holbrook, 1985).

However, *Walk and Roll* was a marginal success during its three-year existence. Local organizers felt that there was an inefficient rate of exposure and connection between participants and CAAWS compared with the multitude of volunteer hours required to host the event. It was speculated that participation rates were low due to the many other events hosted during that week. As well, with few communities having CAAWS chapters prior to the event, many felt *Walk and Roll* would be more effective if it were hosted by a community that had a local grass roots network rather than having to form organizing groups for this specific event (CAAWS, Walk and Roll, 1984).

Working from this alternative strategy that viewed CAAWS as consisting of many local groups, produced limited lasting results. It did, however, bring to light the fact that CAAWS was not a grass-roots organization.

> ... CAAWS was first of all seeing itself as a grass roots organization instead of basically a national executive of however many, twelve or fifteen of us, and three or four pockets of local activity driven by two or three excited women in those communities. (Olivia)

Recognizing this factor helped lead CAAWS members into a planning and restructuring phase in 1985 from which it emerged with a new strategy and stronger focus.

Because the strategies focused on education and creating change from within existing systems, both the emergent and deliberate strategies would be found at the mainstream end of the feminist strategic continuum. The most successful strategy, although unarticulated, emerged from the various activities individuals and chapters produced and worked to connect CAAWS members. However, at this time, this strategy may have been unrecognized by the members, and consequently, they attempted to work unsuccessfully from a deliberate strategy which viewed CAAWS as a grass-roots organization. Both strategies fit within the framework provided by the eight defined goal statements. However, holding both strategies simultaneously created tension and divisions among members.

STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS

The following examination of the Structural Components of CAAWS outlines the initial structure created and implemented, the membership requirements and size, and the connections among these and the organization's ideology and strategy. In constructing CAAWS the IPC attempted to create an alternative organizational form which would not replicate the problems that members found in their daily work settings. Because of this, particular attention will be paid to the type of authority system created. The pattern of tensions associated with the CAAWS authority system lends support to Martin's (1990) argument that the most frequently considered structural issue for feminist organizations is "participatory democracy versus hierarchical authority and control" (p. 195).

Structuring of Authority

The degree to which feminist organizing values, such as equality, were employed in CAAWS varied depending on the organizational level considered. Initially, CAAWS consisted of a three-level hierarchy: the general membership, the national board of directors, and the national executive. The difference in operations between the hierarchical levels probably reflects the ability of members to incorporate feminist values into different size groups. Also a factor in the authority structure of the levels was the geographical diversity of members. Incorporating a high degree of trust in fellow members is difficult when in person and written communications are limited; in this case the limitation was funding. Within each level the structure, decision making processes, and degree of responsibility and autonomy differed. The smaller the membership of the organizing unit the more the unit tended to use consensus decision-making methods. The larger the unit the more it used liberal feminist means of operating, such as decision-making by voting[2]. Although as Briskin (1991) points out, the use of these categories of feminism implies "a rigid separation between them and [suggests] an internal coherency to each which is only possible at abstract levels of analysis" (p. 26). These categories provide a guideline for analyzing the connections among the structure, ideology, and strategy.

The largest grouping in CAAWS was the general membership. They came together as a group only at the annual general meetings. Decision making power at this level was based on individual members, not chapters, thereby creating an equal base in which all members could participate. The voting process was used to make decisions and elect a national board of directors. Those on the board and executive acted as the leaders and meeting facilitators at this level and were held responsible for organizational actions. Because of the limited opportunity to meet and work together, the operations of the general membership as a whole are least indicative of CAAWS' daily operation.

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[2] The difference in operations between the hierarchical levels probably reflects the ability of members to incorporate feminist values into different size groups. Also a factor in the authority structure of the levels was the geographic diversity of members. Incorporating a high degree of trust in fellow members is difficult when in person and written communications are limited; in this case the limitation was a result of limited financial resources.

The second largest operating unit was the national board of directors. It consisted of representatives from the twelve political regions in Canada and one director for each of the four activity areas. As a group they met approximately four times per year. Operations at this level were less structured than at the general membership level. A large degree of autonomy was afforded to the regional representatives. They were responsible for generating their own job descriptions appropriate to the developments and concerns of local members and chapters, and reporting regional activities and interests back to the board.

For the national board, responsibility and trust were given high priority especially when it came to actions needed immediately. Issues requiring immediate attention could be dealt with by three out of the sixteen directors as long as one was the chairwoman of the appropriate activity area, leadership, communications, advocacy, or research, and as long as two provinces were represented. After the fact, the action would be communicated to other executive members at meetings or through written correspondence (CAAWS Executive Committee Meeting Minutes, April 19-20, 1982). This system was created to alleviate the difficult financial constraints which limited the group's ability to meet and it also followed the belief in autonomy and trust in fellow members.

An emphasis on cooperation and equality among members was incorporated into the selection of the executive from the national board of directors. Of the sixteen women elected to the board[3], the four representing the activity areas were automatically on the executive, while the remainder of the board decided among themselves who would hold the other five executive positions. This process emphasized equality and responsibility by giving opportunity to all remaining board members to participate in determining who was most appropriate to sit on the executive. However, a decrease in equality also stemmed from this division in the board because over half of the board met more frequently than the whole board. Informal leadership tended to come from the women selected to the executive, who met most frequently, while other board members tended to feel on the outside of some decisions.

The smallest and least institutionalized units in CAAWS were local chapters and the national executive. Although these groups had different foci they operated with similar methods. During the creation of CAAWS no national guidelines for chapters were generated. The creation, structures, operations, and activities of chapters were based on the personal interests and abilities of their members. This permitted and supported the chapters having a great deal of responsibility and autonomy in their work. This system of operations also discouraged the division of labour; if an individual member had an idea and the energy to pursue it she was encouraged to do so. The women of certain cities or regions took on specific local tasks from start to finish, not needing to integrate their work with members from other cities or regions. This type of work structure attempts to overcome the alienation that can result from specialization of roles and emphasizes the connection between conception and finished product. The size, formality, and activity level of most chapters, such as Edmonton, Halifax, Hamilton, and Toronto, rose and fell with the enthusiasm generated for projects.

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[3] The number of women on the Board of Directors varied according to the number of directorships that were filled, and the number of directorships being shared between two women.

The Ottawa and Vancouver chapters were two exceptions in that they both were consistently active up to 1985. However, they operated very differently. Be-CAAWS, the Ottawa chapter, functioned as an unincorporated support and idea generating group. In contrast, the Vancouver chapter, CAAWS-BC, incorporated and formed a structure that paralleled the national organization. They produced communication and leadership projects out of their office in the Sport BC building, which opened three years prior to the national association having an office.

Although the national executive had more initial guidelines to follow, it also supported a more grass-roots method of organizing. It did not have the traditional heirarchical structure of the positions of president and vice-president at the head. From the time the first executive was selected it operated purposefully without a formal leader (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1982, p. 13.). Instead the nine executive members were equals, all charged with running CAAWS. To facilitate this, they divided the duties amongst themselves by consensus decision making and taking turns chairing the meetings – thus, the use of the term "rotating chair". (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1982).

> We didn't have a hierarchy - chain of command - everyone had a responsibility and often a distinct responsibility. So, you were given a portfolio and you did whatever you thought necessary in that area and other people didn't give you a hard time. You didn't need permission from people about things.
>
> We isolated the chain or facilitative function in the meetings. We developed agendas collectively. We made an effort to have everyone participate - letting quiet people speak and easing back on the more vocal ones. And taking time to care for each other, I believe, is a feminist principle of this organizational structure. (Olivia)

When decisions concerning budgets, project approvals for funds, position statements, policies, legal matters, membership, and structure were required the national executive used consensus decision making (CAAWS, Executive Committee Meeting Minutes, April 19 & 20, 1982). That is to say that members would discuss an issue until they came to an unanimous agreement on a position or action to be taken. The use of this process emphasized that decisions and their consequences were the responsibility of everyone. Initially, other types of decisions were made via a voting process requiring a majority of five to pass decisions.

Membership

The membership of CAAWS between 1982 and 1985 was perceived by some of the Board members interviewed to be homogeneous and by others to be diverse. However, no demographic studies or membership surveys were ever conducted to confirm either of these perceptions. The formal structure supported a diverse membership base, and hence, supported the ideology of sisterhood where women unite to fight oppression regardless of individual differences. Potential economic, gender, and ideological barriers to participation were identified and minimized in the membership requirements. Membership fees, $5.00 for non-waged members and $15.00 for waged members, were kept low. Both women and men were permitted as members; although only women were full members. Men were associate non-voting members which meant that they were not permitted to vote nor hold office. With respect to ideology, potential members needed only to support the general objectives of CAAWS that were set out in the mission and goal statements. Because of these minimal structural constraints CAAWS was open to a wide variety of people.

> I found them to be a pretty refreshing crew [CAAWS members] in the sense that --- was extremely diverse, much more diverse than many other women's groups I've been involved in, where people tend to be similar. Although different groups cover the whole spectrum of women's experience, within a particular group women tend to be from the similar socio-economic class, or cultural background, or whatever. We had people in CAAWS who were on welfare, who were senior administrators, of all age ranges and just from one end of the country to the other, etc... people who had been Olympic athletes, people who considered it a major achievement to walk to work, you know. (Olivia)

Though the formal structure permitted a diverse membership, the informal recruitment methods restricted the membership. At all levels, local, provincial, and national lists of potential members to be recruited were generated from personal networks of friends and local contacts. Given that CAAWS board members were primarily highly educated, white women between the ages of 20 and 50, I believe the recruitment methods used resulted in the general membership having characteristics similar to their recruiters[4]. To reach others who were interested in discussing women in sport and related issues CAAWS members held local public meetings and publicized the national annual conference and general meetings. As well, there were membership brochures and kits available to inform and entice potential members. These recruitment methods were seen to some interviewees to create a homogeneous organization.

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[4] The characteristics of CAAWS members and the implications regarding the diversity and homogeneity of the organization can only be explored at the National Board and Executive levels because these are the levels which were investigated in the interviews and document analysis. I do however hypothesize that the general membership characteristics would have been similar to those found for the National Board Members due to the membership recruitment methods employed.

For the Vancouver chapter the homogeneity of the members gave strength to the politics of identity around the issue of lesbianism. The tension at the national level around the debate concerning the most appropriate role for CAAWS to play regarding lesbians and sport was driven by CAAWS-BC. However, there was also a high degree of tension within that chapter around this issue, and this coupled with personal exhaustion eventually lead to the disintegration of the chapter, in 1985.

Structure -- Links to ideology and strategy

The lack of clarity around the feminist ideology supported by CAAWS was reflected in the operationalization of the structure. Structures and systems were created to emphasize equality and trust among members. Yet, on the practical side, some board members interviewed indicated that they knew feminist theory in the early years but did not know how to employ it.

> In the beginning I think a lot of people had the feminist rhetoric but we didn't quite understand what the feminist process was. And very few of us, I think, worked in the feminist process. So, I think initially it was in theory only. (Felicia)

Other interviewees indicated that board members understood feminism in different ways. This created a rift between the philosophical beliefs in feminism and the actual operations.

> Well, in the first place back in the early 80s we were just beginning to understand what feminist process meant and that there was a wide discrepancy in the view of those various people as to what that meant. And while the people were trying to put in place a feminist process other more task oriented people sort of ran away with the organization and their own agenda. I think that was the early problem. (Ellen)

The alternative feminist perspectives are illustrated by the actions of the board members. While some board members were trying to exercise a politically correct feminist process which consumed much time, made for many debates about feminism, and did not produce quick products, other board members wanted to get on with the task at hand and have something to show for their efforts. The former group was supporting a more socialist or radical feminist perspective by "their general concern for the process as well as the product of political activity" (Jaggar, 1988, p. 338), while the later group's emphasis on the product rather than the process characterizes them as more liberal feminists.

Alternative perspectives seen in the discussions regarding the philosophy also extended into the structural components. Originally created as a nationally focused organization, CAAWS was modified to focus more on local development when it was operationalized. This reflected the different visions of the women involved in the two stages of structural development, pre 1982 and post 1982.

In the structure created by the IPC and presented at the 1982 AGM, the concentration was on what the national association would look like, its general operating principles, and its connection with the Statement of Philosophy. Seven board positions out of twenty three proposed were for representatives from national women's organizations and for women who may not have had the opportunity to gain a seat through either regional or activity area representation. As one Board member emphasized "It very much had a national vision not a local vision". However,

> a portion of the meeting did not accept the structure as it was proposed. ... And some of those people who opposed it were elected and as a result, some of the structure wasn't put into practice. (Darlene)

Specifically, the seven positions for women's groups and general representatives were eliminated. Hence, the original decision to create a national organization with a connection to the women's movement and broad representation beyond the geographic regions and activity areas, and the subsequent altering of that decision lead to a rift between the structure and the original vision. The interviewees who were members of the IPC commented that they saw a change in focus from their national view to a more local view as the 1982 Board took over. The change of structure and the election of the first board of directors with only one IPC member on it to continue the original vision resulted in the national vision being replaced in favour of local chapter development.

In contrast, the 1982 Board members interviewed mainly stated that CAAWS functioned with a national focus and concentrated little on the local level. This discrepancy may be due to a difference in opinion concerning the structuring and operations of a national level organization. It could also reflect alternative ideological views that manifest themselves in the development of structures. Either way, women from both groups expressed dissatisfaction with the focus they perceived CAAWS to have initially taken.

The restructuring of CAAWS by successive Boards of Directors occurred at more than this initial juncture. Directors held their positions for two year terms and each time a new director came onto the Board there was the potential for the ideology, strategy, and structure of CAAWS to be questioned, especially given the diversity of members.

> I think we were constantly reinventing the wheel to some extent. That was one of our frustrations. I think that although we worked well we worked on the same things over and over again. I mean I think that some issues came back over and over again, basically with respect to the two streams of women in sports: high performance athletes and women in physical activity in sort of mass participation types of stuff. (Olivia)

This reoccurring evaluation of the philosophy and strategy of CAAWS supports Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail's (1988, p. 241) finding that the integrity of feminist organizations is continually challenged by new members. Figure 2, page 54, shows the organizational chart for the 1982 to 1985 period. Also included in this figure are the positions that were proposed by the IPC but not accepted by the membership.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

Of interest in the development of external relationships is the balance that the organization creates between what it desires from other organizations and what is expected in return. For CAAWS, the most significant relationships were with government departments primarily for financial reasons. With the FAS Women's Program, the relationship began prior to the genesis of CAAWS since the FAS Women's Program was directly responsible for funding the meetings that led to the creation of CAAWS.

From 1982 onwards, CAAWS members struggled with the idea of obtaining government funding. At the 1982 AGM, members were concerned about the effect accepting government funding would have on the organization, and yet they realized that there were few, if any, other sources of funding available to an advocacy group (CAAWS Annual General Meeting Minutes, 1982).

The FAS Women's Program continued to have an important relationship with CAAWS. Its mandate was to fund affirmative action projects and programs. Hence, funding the initial meetings of CAAWS fit the mandate. However, future meetings and daily operations could not be funded under this program. So, in order to operate:

> A number of the projects that CAAWS applied for had a built-in contingency of operational monies. A number of times I know that CAAWS applied for money simply because it could get operational funding out of it and keep the organization going. (Janet)

Between 1981 and mid-1984, the FAS Women's Program granted CAAWS a total of $30,864 (CAAWS, Grant Submission, 1984). Subsequently, for the year of April 1984 to April 1985, this source substantially increased its funding to $33,670. The funds were used for the newsletter, a Human Rights project, resource materials, a planning workshop, and consultant fees.

Another source of federal government funds was the Secretary of State Women's Program. Initially, the Secretary of State funded the Annual General Meetings (Secretary of State, 1982). By 1985, CAAWS was receiving approximately $22,000 to host this event. A large portion of these funds provided travel assistance for members. Being able to meet as a large group and to host the yearly conference on women in sport issues was extremely significant to the members of CAAWS. These forums kept members in touch with each other and attracted new members. Without

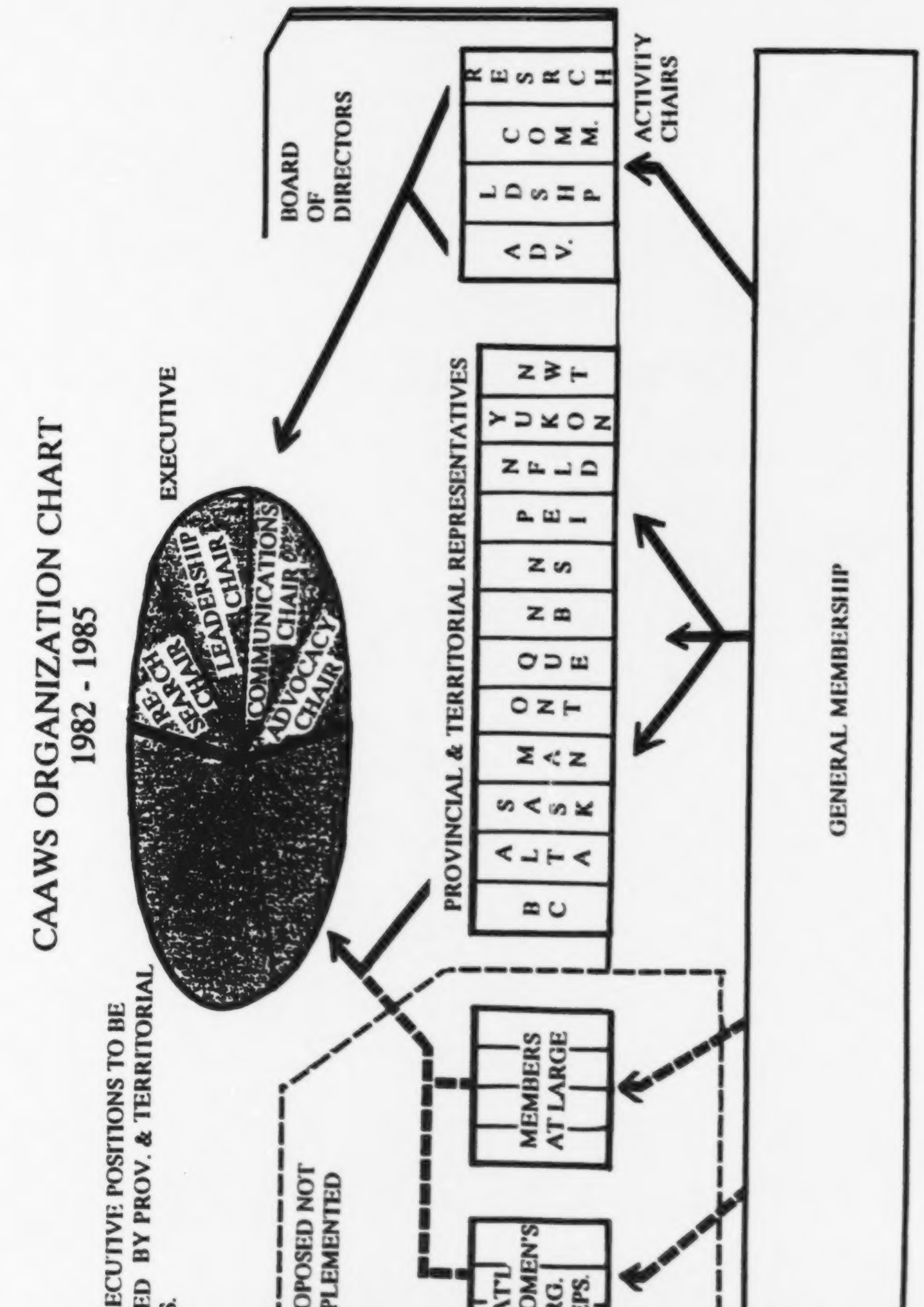

Figure 2: CAAWS Organizational Chart 1982 - 1985

funding from the Secretary of State, these important gatherings would not have taken place.

The Secretary of State Women's Program also had funds available for operating grants. However, its mandate focused on funding women's organizations dealt with many organizations dealt with many issues. issue, sport, disqualified. By February 1984, although still not meeting the funding criteria, this ineligibility was revoked. Lyse Blanchard, a firm believer in the benefits of physical activity and a previous executive member of CAAWS, was the Director of the Secretary of State Women's Program, at this point. Her endorsement of CAAWS assisted CAAWS in gaining funds that might have otherwise been unattainable. Approximately $5000 was provided for operational costs during 1984, and an appeal for greater support was issued in December. Core operational funding status was achieved by April, 1985 with a grant of $23,000 (CAAWS, Letter, 1985; Minister responsible for the Status of Women, 1985).

The ability to attain government funding with relative ease was seen by one interviewee as unusual for a women's organization.

> Just compared to relationships, I'm familiar with between other non-profit organizations and in particular, women's groups and the government, it was incredible - it was almost incestuous - it was so close - ... the fact that we didn't have to explain why we existed - that they understood and knew. ...

She went on to explain that the uniqueness of the relationships resulted from the women who were in power positions in the government departments.

> We rotated people in and out of the CAAWS executive and Fitness and Amateur Sport. I mean, there was Abby Hoffman, Director of Sport Canada and Abby is a founding member of CAAWS. Lyse [Blanchard] was the Director of [Secretary of State] Women's Program. Lyse, if not a founding member of CAAWS knew everybody in the room at the time. It was very close and this was in sharp contrast to other organizations who have to sort of beat down doors and explain who they are and the fact they're not flaky or their issue is insignificant. Compared to other groups I felt we were handed money. I was embarrassed about it sometimes, to be quite frank. But, on the other hand it was important work and I was grateful we didn't have to spend a lot of energy just scrambling for the money. (Olivia)

Four of the founding leaders of CAAWS consecutively were employed as the manager of the FAS Women's Program, and the director of Secretary of State Women's Program in 1984 was a past board member of CAAWS.

This close connection led members of each organization to expect a certain degree of cooperation from each other. In 1983 the FAS Women's Program Manager attended CAAWS meetings and at one in particular discussed common goals shared by the two organizations and projects they could work on together (CAAWS, Executive Meeting Minutes, March 10, 1983). One such project was the creation and distribution of a report outlining three positions concerning the equality for women and girls in sport - a response to the Sopinka Task Force Report[5] (Lenskyj, 1984). As well, the FAS Women's Program requested that CAAWS critique the draft of the FAS's Policy Paper - *Women & Sport* which was later accepted as policy (CAAWS, Board Meeting Minutes, October 5, 1985).

In return for the funding, both government departments required an accounting of how funds were spent and progress reports on projects. In 1983, although receiving government funds, the Executive members were hesitant to accept the conditions attached to those funds. Below is the summary of a 1983 Executive discussion pertaining to government requirements.

> FAS requires that financial and written reports on projects that it funds be submitted within 30 days after the end of the project. There was some discussion about how much importance CAAWS should attach to this: this is mere administrative procedure by FAS and not significant; we should concentrate on grass-roots work; we need to maintain a reasonable relationship with FAS; etc.
>
> There was general consensus that we should try to observe the FAS procedures and deadlines at much as possible, but that sometimes there will be extenuating circumstances when more important work prevents us from meeting the deadline. Since we have to report to FAS anyway, we might as well report on time. However, our highest priority is CAAWS work, especially at the community/membership level, not preparing reports to FAS (obviously). (CAAWS, Executive Meeting Minutes, July 22-24, 1983, p. 5)

The reluctance to comply with the funding terms expressed in these statements were manifested in reports continually being submitted late (CAAWS, Executive Meeting Minutes, May 29, 1983, p. 1; CAAWS, Board Meeting Minutes, October 5, 1985, p. 2).

One interviewee analyzed the reluctance to report back to the government, specifically FAS Women's Program, as stemming from a difficulty of CAAWS members to accept the Women's Program as a change agent. A second interviewee reported that the unclear philosophy of CAAWS contributed to the tension between the organizations.

> I mean it drove you nuts, there was always this navel gazing, that really often did not lead to any action. And I think that's part of the lack of willingness to fulfill their obligations in their relationship with their funding agency. It had to do with the lack of willingness to commit or a continuum, we're in this together... Agreeing on an agenda was a

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[5] The Sopinka Task Force was created in response to public outcry against Subsection 19(2) of the Ontario Human Rights Code which was implemented in 1981. The Subsection permitted discrimination based on sex within organized sport in Ontario. The Task Force's finding were published in a report called *Can I Play? The Report of the Task Force on Equal Opportunity in Athletics: Volume 1* (1983).

> secondary issue to agreeing on a philosophy I mean it drove you nuts. (Yvonne)

Beyond the necessity to report back to the government funding agencies the acceptance of large scale funding also created changes in the organization. The reporting procedure made CAAWS more results oriented in contrast to process oriented according to one Board member of this period. Funding from the Secretary of State was seen to connect CAAWS, albeit indirectly, to the women's movement. The major change to CAAWS, once core operating funds had been secured, occurred in its daily operations.

> Yes, clearly what it did was it bureaucratized the organization very quickly. It meant a lot of energies went into maintaining the Secretary of State files. The applications and the accountability were regular and expected, and CAAWS met those requirements. ... by then we were beginning to have staff, that meant staff time had to be dedicated to managing the Sec. State portfolio. So, it's a case of bureaucracy begetting more bureaucracy. It moved us away from a heavy dependence on volunteers and into a more moderate dependence on volunteers shared with staff people who were paid. So, then CAAWS got involved in trying to negotiate the balance between staff responsibilities and volunteer responsibilities so that they could get along.
>
> ... What I got was better information, more regularly from the central office after that. I also had less responsibility. I no longer thought that I was quite as important to the organization because information was centered in the office now, and there was someone to manage that. (Janet)

The impact of the operating grants was very significant to the development of CAAWS. As the last quote reports, they altered the structure of CAAWS. Earlier available funding had been limited to specific projects. Consequently, most members had focused on project based work rather than the unsupported activity of advocacy. The projects which generated funds also had the effect of supporting the views of one faction of CAAWS members over another. Those who wanted to get on with the work of social change were supported by the funding and those who were focused on the feminist process and ideology more than finished projects were not.

PHASE ONE SUMMARY

Significant decisions were made in the five areas discussed in this chapter. CAAWS expanded the legitimate feminist domain into the realm of sport and its members were leaders in this field. However, in the early years the organization lacked clarity regarding its primarily liberal feminist ideology. Some members supported more socialist and radical feminist philosophies on specific issues, such as the politics of lesbianism. Their deliberate strategy for social change focused on mainstream work; while an emergent strategy linked members together through projects and conferences. The structure supported an alternative ideology to mainstream organizing, yet some members questioned whether it incorporated a feminist process. External relations that were forged also reflected the lack of unity regarding an organizational feminist ideology. The quote below summarizes the confusion felt by many of the early board members concerning the ideology and actions of CAAWS.

> There's always this orientation in terms of this debate. Like can we be an advocacy group? Can we be radical? Can we be lesbian? Can we be this? I mean it just went on and repeated all the time, because you're always dealing with the same type of recruit. You don't have a long term, and its a burn out city in this organization. So, the cycle is always repeating itself. You don't have leadership over a long period of time that can step back and say, yes we're advocacy and this is what it means and these are the stances we have to take and these are our positions. There's never any of that; it was like dealing in quick sand all the time. (Yvonne)

It is my belief that this vagueness of purpose and philosophy resulted in the turbulent period from 1985 to 1987 and affected the decisions made during that period.

CHAPTER 4

PHASE TWO (1985 TO 1989)

The broad range of activities and target markets pursued in the early years of CAAWS created difficulties for the Board of Directors from 1982 to 1985. They found themselves

> ... searching for an identity because we were beginning to realize that we couldn't be all things to all people and that we were going to have to choose. ... Some people thought that we should focus on local grass-roots activity; some people thought that we should be a national lobbying voice; some people thought we should be a communications and publication network. And we couldn't do all those things and we couldn't agree on which of those we wanted to do. (Olivia)

Coming to terms with what type of activities members would pursue was the main impetus for change between 1985 and 1989.

> The organization was never really big enough to actually be really active in all four areas [advocacy, communications, leadership, and research] of emphasis. (Allison)

The diversity of the work had caused limited resources to be spread thinly, and led dedicated members into a state of exhaustion.

Tushman and Romanelli (1985) argue that poor organizational performance can be a reason for large scale organizational change. This held true for CAAWS. The changes implemented constituted a re-creation. That is to say

> ... simultaneous and discontinuous shifts in strategy, the distribution of power, the firm's core structure, and the nature and pervasiveness of control systems ... [plus] ... the firm's core values and beliefs. (Tushman and Romanelli, 1985, p. 179)

The re-creation evolved in two phases. The first phase from June 1984 to June 1986 involved incremental changes that were made to alleviate some of the structural and systemic problems. This resulted in the membership and communication systems being revamped, and the structure being organized to better handle daily operations. At this time it was also decided that members needed to channel their efforts into advocacy. This redirection of energy and structural alterations moved CAAWS away from its project oriented strategy, and towards a unified advocacy strategy.

The second redesign phase involved altering the philosophy, structure, systems, and strategy to form a cohesive advocacy organization. It was a period of discontinuous change driven by a group of returning founders. The transition to the new focus was a painful struggle especially for those working at the national level where most of the changes occurred. The conflict was a result of Board members holding two opposing points of view regarding how CAAWS should operate. As the struggle was resolved, CAAWS members became united behind a new philosophical approach and a new long-term strategic plan.

The completion of the strategic plan in April 1987 signified the end of the revolutionary change. After that time incremental changes developed which moved some of the systems back towards the earlier mode of operating. In this chapter the incremental and revolutionary changes made between 1985 and 1989 are examined in light of the decisions and actions identified in chapter three.

FOUNDING CONTEXT

Founding Circumstances

The three phenomenon occurring in the Canadian women's movement during the genesis of CAAWS were: coalition building, domain enlargement, and participation with government at the bureaucratic level. These became factors that contributed to the start-up of CAAWS and continued to impact CAAWS into the 1985 to 1989 period. Of primary importance to this period was the concept of domain expansion. However, it is difficult to consider as a separate factor when it is interconnected with the clarification of the mandate being done during this time. Hence, the impact of the domain expansion concept is discussed under the Feminist Ideology and Values construct.

Founding Leaders

The impact that the founding leader's initial ideas, strategies, and visions have on an organization depends in part upon the length of their tenure (Boeker, 1989). Because there are two sets of founding leaders for CAAWS, the founding members who planned the organization and the 1982 Board of Directors who implemented the plans, there were two visions of what CAAWS was to be. Evidence of these two visions appeared in 1986 when some of the founding members returned to direct the organization back onto the original track which they had created. Implementing their plan generated a struggle between themselves and some of the current board members who supported the alternative vision for CAAWS.

The IPC members had envisioned CAAWS as a strong advocacy body. Yet, between 1982 and 1985, after they had left the Executive, there had been limited activity around advocacy; most members concentrated on designing and completing projects. Then in 1984 some of the founding members were asked to assist in reviewing and improving the operations of CAAWS. Again the concept of advocacy was brought to the forefront. Those who participated in the review process watched in anticipation for CAAWS to finally fulfill its original mission. However, these founding members were disappointed with the results and set about to redesign the organization in 1986.

The internal dynamics of the 1986-1987 Board of Directors was also an important factor in the change process. The six founding leaders on the Board were a cohesive group because they had shared experiences and deep friendships. Neither the six continuing members nor the five new Board members had such strong ties to each other, and the remaining two Directors had held Board positions previously but had just rejoined the board after more than a year's absence. Thus, the previous experiences and involvement of the Directors created a situation where the Board was divided before it began to operate.

The founders therefore constituted a group within the larger group. As Ristock (1991) observed when studying feminist collectives "... it is not so much individual leaders that emerge and struggle for power as it is small factions which form and disagree with one another (p. 52).

In this case the founding leaders purposefully ran for office knowing that as a group they were committed to changing CAAWS.

> ... And that's why this group came back on the board, because we saw CAAWS at that stage (where we had to come to terms with what we were). And we only got involved because... we felt that something had to happen or CAAWS was just going to die. We felt that very clearly and strongly. (Yvonne)

As a group these women were considered by other Board members and themselves to be personally powerful. They had moved up their respective employment ladders, mostly within the sport system at the national level. Now they had the authority in their work settings to create change for women in sport. However, they needed the public to call for change in order to legitimate their actions to their employers. CAAWS as an advocacy agent could fill this role.

The other faction consisted primarily of the Advocacy Committee most of whom were continuing their term in office. They had discussed and reached a consensus on supporting the declaration of 1987 as the Year of Advocacy. Yet, the exact meaning of this statement differed greatly between women on the committee and the founding leaders who had returned. The former supported an educational approach to advocacy through a grass roots membership and the latter envisioned a small, but highly skilled advocacy network.

Difficulties between these factions began with a difference regarding how CAAWS would express its opinion, publicly or privately, regarding the

Fitness and Amateur Sport Women in Sport Policy. Ristock (1991, p. 48) argues that the expression of differences threatens the collective identity of a feminist group and therefore feminist groups tend to suppress differences. CAAWS Board members, led by the founding leaders, acted according to Ristock's argument by changing CAAWS policy to require that all public statements be approved by the Board, thereby eliminating any show of diversity. This effectively reduced the autonomy and power of the Advocacy Committee, and created mistrust between the factions.

The relationship between the founding leaders and the Advocacy Chairwoman was recalled by one of the founding leaders in the following way:

> Well, she didn't trust us, didn't believe us, ..., felt that we exerted too much power, too much control, and she wasn't a part of that. ... It was a perception as well as a reality, I think. (Yvonne)

Other board members recalled that the conflict seemed to be a constant bickering between members in Toronto and those in Ottawa. Toronto was home to the Advocacy Committee, whereas Ottawa was home to most of the returning founders.

A second difficulty arose concerning the expenditure of project funds for an advocacy workshop. The Advocacy Committee was alarmed that funds would be used to hire a researcher to seek out what the advocacy issues were, when the newly released Women in Sport Policy, could be used as a starting point.

> They wanted to spend money on doing a survey across Canada to find out what the issues were and a policy had just come out. The policy contained 15 or 20 issues in it. ... I felt they just wanted to spend money on giving each other contracts. It ticked me off like crazy and other women in Ontario too. (Wanda)

The Advocacy Committee recommended that more of the project money be directly applied to the development and support of grass roots women who needed professional development in the advocacy area, rather than more studies.

The other side of the argument, supported by most of the founding leaders, was based on the survey being a method of identifying precisely what activities and issues CAAWS members would engage in as an advocacy organization. This would then be a means of converging the focus of CAAWS board members onto advocacy. The survey, as supported by the founding leaders, went ahead with no compromises. This added to the conflict between Board members.

Then, in February, 1987 the Board, frustrated with the lack of cohesion and trust in the group, removed from office its most incompatible member, the Advocacy Chairwoman (CAAWS, Board Meeting Minutes, February 15, 1987, p. 3). When discussing this dismissal a Board member, during that time, reported that the Advocacy Chairwoman was anti-feminist. This is an example of the argument that:

> Given the overarching emphasis on feminism, it is not surprising that the basis of unity of most collectives becomes a shared ideological commitment. When a woman shows diversity or difference, it is often her feminism that is called into question. She is seen as a deviate, threatening the unity and power of the group. (Ristock, 1991, p. 50)

Ristock (1991) continues and states that this type of analysis simplifies the "complexities of collective difficulties and serves to disempower individual women" (p. 50).

The conflict generated between the two factions exhausted most of the founding leaders. They left the Board in 1987, nine months after the expulsion of the Advocacy Chairwoman. Their short length of tenure limited the impact that their ideas had on the operations of CAAWS. Hence, similar to their involvement during the start-up of CAAWS, these women lead CAAWS by creating a detailed plan and structure, but again they did not continue their participation past the planning phase. After they left the Board, the Founding Leaders from the 1982 Board of Directors played a subtle but important role. Their views regarding organizational operations gradually brought about incremental changes which redirected CAAWS toward a more conservative mode of operating.

FEMINIST IDEOLOGY AND VALUES

In 1984 the Board of Directors hired a management consulting firm to survey the members regarding communications, membership, successes, frustrations, and the future direction of CAAWS (Kent, 1985). The results of this survey coupled with an assessment of CAAWS by the Board of Directors and a few select founders indicated that CAAWS was functioning poorly. In order to attend to this Board members brought about a series of pervasive changes that revolved around the issue of what business CAAWS was in. According to the argument made by Nadler and Tushman (1989, p. 196) such "fundamental changes in the definition of the business, shifts in power, alterations in culture, and similar issues" constitute an organizational re-creation. Within the re-creation of CAAWS three notable changes to the ideology and values were made. Two of these changes dealt with the domain of CAAWS, and the third change involved reconstructing the principles of operating. These changes will be examined by identifying and comparing the content and commitment to the ideology and values before and after the redesign.

From 1982 to 1985 CAAWS members supported a vaguely defined definition of their domain which included four activity areas and a target market of all Canadian girls and women. The membership survey of 1985 identified the image of CAAWS as highly problematic (Kent, 1985). This image problem consisted of two parts: first, the unclear relationship between

CAAWS and lesbians in sport and in the organization; second, the lack of clarity regarding the business of CAAWS. Although both of these issues stem from a concern for the image of CAAWS, the process of change for each differed.

Between 1982 and 1985 competing commitments existed with respect to the liberal feminist stance CAAWS had taken regarding the issues facing lesbians. For the liberal feminists "Particular sexual practices and sexual activity in general are valuable only insofar as individuals define them as good or wish to engage in them" (Jaggar, 1983, p. 180). For the less conservative feminists it was important to publicly address lesbian issues. Thus, the differing commitments created a constant struggle in the organization. The Vancouver chapter of CAAWS experienced this struggle most intensely.

> What happened in B.C. was that CAAWS became a very lesbian group, and it scared everybody. ... People became burnt out because the whole lesbian thing became a big issue. CAAWS sort of faded away. (Felicia)

The intensity of the struggle exhausted the British Columbia members to the extent that no one, not even a regional representative, from British Columbia ran for a Board position in June 1985.

The first incremental change concerning this issue occurred at the 1985 conference. After much discussion, the sixty or so members at the sexuality and sport session formed two resolutions that read: "CAAW+S endorse[s] the inclusion of sexual orientation in the Canadian Human Rights Charter"; and at the 1986 conference there will be a session with papers regarding sexuality, gender, and sport (Mitchell, 1985, p. 7). The statement endorsed support from CAAWS for lesbians and their issues.

The second incremental change occurred a year later during the Out of the Closet Workshop at the 1986 AGM. Approximately twenty women, one third of the conference participants, created a position statement which read,

> ... CAAWS is opposed to discrimination against lesbians in sport and physical activity; and that CAAWS undertakes to support advocacy efforts to ensure lesbian equality of rights. (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1986, p. 7)

Openly declaring support for lesbians was a major change for a group who would not publicly discuss the issue in 1984. Lenskyj (1989) argues that by taking this stance CAAWS members helped to politicize the issues lesbians in sport face, and thus, their position was formed earlier and was more radical than that of other organizations in sport, such as CAHPER and AAHPERD. In order to act on this position statement, members wrote a letter to CAHPER to

> describe our disgust with their refusal to distribute CAAW&S AGM pamphlets with their conference material because of the reference to the "Out of the Closet" workshop. (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1986, p. 7)

The workshop and subsequent action signified a radical departure from the previous commitment to silence around lesbian issues in sport. However, becoming political around the issue of sexual orientation may have resulted from a redefinition of the problem. If CAAWS members had redefined the image problem to homophobia, a fear of homosexuality, the matter would have become an issue of discrimination which is a legitimate concern for liberal feminists. Whatever the reason for changing their stand regarding the inclusion of lesbian issues, the action indicates a change in the philosophy of CAAWS members.

According to most Board members interviewed after the 1986 resolution was created, tensions surrounding the issue of having lesbians visible in the organization and discussing lesbian issues decreased considerably. One Board member recalled the notable difference in this way:

> And by about '87 or '88 I went back to CAAWS for a meeting or seminar and suddenly there were people talking about lesbians in sport without batting an eye. I thought, hey!, somebody just crossed a bridge. (Allison)

While most interviewees believed the resolution had a positive effect on CAAWS, a few believed that the resolution caused some members not to renew their membership. However, I have found no evidence to substantiate this.

Between 1987 and 1989, CAAWS members were committed to addressing homophobia and lesbian issues through Board discussions and articles printed in the organization's newsmagazine. However, the issue of homophobia and lesbian rights did not become a predominate concern of CAAWS for possibly three reasons. First, many members saw CAAWS as fighting for all women in sport and therefore problems based on sexual orientation were only a small part of the whole. Second, the redesigning and implementing of a new mandate and strategy consumed an inordinate amount of energy. Third, as Lenskyj (1991), argues in June 1987 the Secretary of State Women's Program no longer funded proposals that primarily sought to advance a particular view on sexual orientation (Ross, 1988). Hence, proposals requesting project or operating funds "to support advocacy efforts to ensure lesbian equality of rights" as stated in the Out of the Closet resolution would have been refused. Because of the situation this change in ideology had a limited effect.

The membership survey of 1985 identified the lack of clarity regarding the operations of CAAWS as the second half of the image problem. To alleviate the problem, emphasis on the four activity areas decreased as the importance of coordination and a uniform direction for members' activities grew through incremental changes. The most significant of these changes occurred in June 1986 when the membership, through consensus decision-making, endorsed the idea that 1986-1987 be a Year of Advocacy. In doing so they sought to

> employ a systematic approach to what we can accomplish in any one year. Due to the urgency of the advocacy role I suggest we devote ourselves to the single theme of advocacy for 1987. (CAAWS, Memo, 1986)

This incremental change in domain positioned CAAWS to focus solely on advocacy.

The organizational significance of focusing totally on advocacy was likely not realized at the time. Because of this decision, advocacy touched every activity, such as communications, special events, membership, and funding. The desired benefit from this integrated approach was to develop a strong advocacy network in Canada by concentrating the limited resources into one activity (CAAWS, Memo, 1986). The unforeseen difficulty of this approach lay in deciding how it should be achieved.

CAAWS members held two opinions concerning the appropriate organizational form for an advocacy agency. One group believed in an advocacy organization with a large grass roots membership, and the other side wanted a strong national advocacy network. Recalling the struggle over this issue two of the 1986-1987 Board members said:

> All kinds of lack of agreement around why we were in business; what kinds of services we should be providing; who our membership should be. I mean all the same issues continued to plague the organization. Do we focus at grass roots level or focus at the national level; are we involved in lobbying work or advocacy work; and what is the difference between the two? It was just confusion. (Nichole)

> In most things you need somebody way over at the left in order to get anything happening at the right. And now that group of women on the board at the time were more willing to be radical - to take that risk and say OKAY. We will do these things and we'll be seen as outsiders and we'll be affiliated with that. But there was always this thing - Well, what about the membership? We don't have a membership if we are that radical. So, that was one thing that always came up. The radical versus the liberal. (Patricia)

In other words underlying the issue of how to be an advocacy organization was the question of how radical CAAWS could be ideologically while continuing to hold a liberal feminist perspective.

In November 1986, the Board reached an agreement which brought about dramatic changes to the organization. Board members stated that their role as a board was not to support the advocacy committee but rather to be the advocacy body. This decision translated into a rewording of the mission statement. The original and the 1987 mission statements with emphasis added in order to show the subtle revision in the statement are below.

1981 CAAWS seeks:

> **To advance the position of women** by defining, promoting, and supporting a feminist perspective on sport and to improve the status of women in sport.

1987:

> The Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport (CAAWS) **defines, promotes and supports a feminist perspective** to advance the position of girls and women and to improve the quality of sport and physical activity.

The original statement recognizes the action of advancing women as the first priority of CAAWS; whereas, the revised statement puts the initial emphasis on holding a feminist perspective. The subtlety of the revision may seem inconsequential, however, by purposely stressing the feminist perspective, CAAWS became a more overtly feminist organization.

Along with rewording the mission statement, the 1986-1987 Board members generated a series of five position statements. Together these formed a new philosophy for CAAWS. Agreement on this philosophy acted to greatly reduce the debates concerning the domain and mandate of CAAWS.

> There was a moment of clarity, it seemed; there was consensus and there was agreement on some pretty meaty statements and some pretty heavy duty planning around those statements. (Nichole)

From the philosophy grew a strategic plan which linked all levels of members as well as the ideology, strategy, and structure of CAAWS. Thus, these changes in domain resulted in members striving to make advocacy the end product of all activities.

After the completion of the strategic plan CAAWS members continued to expand their domain of operations. They reviewed the meaning of the term sport and decided it did not adequately address other forms of physical activity. In order to incorporate physical activity into their operations they started working on issues that pertained to fitness leaders. In 1988, they formalized this increase in domain by adding physical activity on to the end of the organization's name.

Beyond the ideological changes made to the domain of CAAWS, there were also value changes made which impacted upon the principles of operating. These changes arise from the revision made to the mission statement. Implementing the reworded mission statement strengthened the use of feminist process in daily operations by emphasizing that CAAWS was a feminist group who worked to support women in sport, rather than a group for women in sport that happened to be feminist. This translated into a heightened awareness of the feminist process and its importance to the group. Specific details regarding the procedures used to increase the centrality of feminist process are discussed in the Structural Components construct.

In 1986, an event occurred that clearly illustrated the trend toward supporting a more radical feminist perspective in the organization. Members at the 1986 AGM questioned the win-lose outcome of electing one woman to a directorship, when possibly more than one woman may be nominated and suitable for the position (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1986). A year later an election process that reflected a less conservative feminist perspective was in place.

> In the case of more than one nominee for a position, nominees will meet and decide amongst themselves if the position is to be shared and if so by which nominees. (CAAWS, Policies and Procedures, 1988, p. 6)

This new process was seen as more fair and equitable, in that the women nominated could decide amongst themselves who was most suited for the position or how to share the responsibilities, instead of having an inflexible system which allowed for only one winner and no discussion.

Adopting a more radical form of liberal feminism meant that the feminist process extended beyond the meeting room walls. The centrality of the Managing Director to most activities, and her strong feminist beliefs, permitted her to nurture the new feminist process.

> [She] tried to get us to write regularly to each other. To acknowledge sort of month, by month, by month that we had different lives outside of CAAWS. She brightened the organization. She brought in pink paper and green ink, and that sense of flair to the organization. That was nice, and she brought a radicalism. She brought mooncycles and things like that which are always on the edge of feminism, the spiritual edge, but are normally not part of a national feminist organization. So, she pushed us a bit in that direction which I think was quite healthy. ... It brought a smile to everybody's face when they walked into the meeting. (Patricia)

The application of the feminist process created a recognition and appreciation for the whole member not just the part of her that volunteered for CAAWS. In order to connect the Board members with each other outside of meetings, moon letters were instigated. On each full moon directors would acknowledge each other by sending letters, flowers, cookies, or other items, or phoning one another. A schedule listing the dates of the full moons and who was to think of whom controlled the process so that equal recognition was given to all directors. Other activities supporting feminist process included: giving new board members writings on feminist process, sending board members feminist readings, and posting feminist quotes on the meeting room walls. Some of these practices made new board members uneasy. However, after becoming accustomed to them, most Board members I interviewed enjoyed and had fun with the process.

FEMINIST STRATEGY

Redesigning the strategy began in 1985 and was completed in 1987. Once finished its content stemmed from the new philosophy of CAAWS, specifically the five Position Statements[1]. From these statements the Board members developed a number of objectives each of which broke down into a series of strategic actions. These strategic actions consisted of incremental steps which together formed projects in the areas of communications, leadership, research, and advocacy. Specifying the connections between the projects and the philosophy highlights the difference between the precise deliberate strategy of 1987 and the general 1982 deliberate strategy. Similarly, while the project oriented emergent strategy of 1982 to 1985 was disorganized and divisive, the strategy from 1985 to 1989 emerged as formalized, organized, and cohesive.

Another difference between strategies involved the target markets. During the early years many of the projects addressed the needs of laywomen, for example the facility study, and the *Organize* booklet. In contrast, projects from the 1987 strategic plan catered to women with a working knowledge of the sport system. These projects included a study examining which Canadian universities offered women in sport courses and follow-up advocacy work; hosting a national conference on feminist fitness leadership and developing a feminist model for fitness leaders; advocating for local, provincial, and national level policies on women in sport; and altering the newsletter to a newsmagazine which featured articles on issues in sport and fitness rather than simply updating members on CAAWS activities.

Even though the intended audience for CAAWS projects functioned within the sport system, the new strategy of CAAWS was more disengagement oriented than both the earlier deliberate and emergent strategies. CAAWS Board members during this time felt that their pro-active advocacy work put them outside of the mainstream sport system.

> And I think that when the group turned more to focus on advocacy there was really some harmony in seeing themselves slightly outside the system, now that they had Secretary of State funding and not Sport Canada project funding. So, with Secretary of State funding I think as a national group CAAWS was more independent then to say 'okay, we are going to be the watch dog for these sport organizations that are treating women shitty'. (Allison)

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[1] Information regarding 1987 CAAWS Strategic Plan has been gained from the short term, mid term, and long term plans of 1987 and the updated versions produced in 1988. See the reference listing for the exact documents.

This perspective of having a more disengaged approach to operating corresponds to the altered mission statement emphasizing that the organization was first feminist, and second that it focused on sport.

One of the major activities during the 1987-1989 period, which epitomizes the connections made between the new philosophy and members activities, was called Common Focus. Common Focus linked the different levels of members through the creation of a policy workbook at the national level intended for use by the regional Chapters. In its final form the policy workbook consisted of sections concerning how to advocate and lobby; how to develop, monitor, and evaluate policy; how to present a brief; three case studies about CAAWS members and others working towards change; and other sources of information. The main activity of the provincial members under the Common Focus was to lobby for local and provincial legislative policies which would create positive change for girls and women in sport and physical activity.

A further internal connection made through the Common Focus centered on the organization's feminist mode of operations. In the early years CAAWS members were uncertain about the substance and implementation of a feminist process. While constructing the handbook national board members had difficulties using feminist process as well as embedding the foundation of the process within the document so that others could learn from it. One Board member explained the difficulties this way.

> The difficulty in writing a 'how to' book on policy development for CAAWS members is to determine a way in which the nurturing of a feminist perspective supersedes, but does not trivialize, accomplishments of the task at hand. In other words, policy development is the means, the individual attainment of a feminist perspective is the end. (CAAWS, AGM Reports, 1988, p. 1)

The strong focus on process, during this period, is evident from the National Board's usage of a feminist process while working on the handbook, as well as its incorporation into the handbook.

As well as emphasizing feminist process the strategy provided a multi-level approach to generating feminist leadership. Three of the five Position Statements addressed aspects of feminist leadership. The strategic activities under these Statements combined to produced a comprehensive system for advancing feminist thought in sport.

Position Statement 1 identified a lack of resources in schools and universities for programing and developing female participation and leadership in sport and physical activity. Position Statement 2 encouraged actions which promoted and supported women in decision-making positions; and Position Statement 5 emphasized that leaders needed feminist values in order for women to advance in sport and physical activity. So, the strategic plan embodied beliefs and actions that sought to improve the whole cycle of women in sport from developing participation and leadership, to supporting the advancement of women into decision-making positions, and to encouraging leaders to adopt feminist values. The employment of feminist decision-makers would then start the cycle of change all over again from inside the system this time rather than from outside via organizations such as CAAWS.

The actions arising from Position Statements 1 and 2 assessed the existing situation and made recommendations based on those findings. In contrast, Position Statement 5 demanded more innovative action. It called for the development of feminist administrative and technical leaders as well as feminist process models for use by current administrative and technical decision-makers. To this end CAAWS members participated in the development of feminist models for leadership in three different contexts: *Breakthough - Girls and Women in Sport*, a community oriented program; the National Coaching School for Women, with its focus on feminist coaching models, and the Common Focus handbook, a feminist advocacy model.

A series of yearly events specifically catering to women and girls in sport led to Breakthrough - Girls and Women in Sport. The first in the series was *Walk and Roll* in 1984 and 1985 hosted by various CAAWS chapters; and from that came the *Girls' and Women's Fitness and Sport Festival*, a half day exhibition of programs and activities organized by the Ottawa Liaison Subcommittee on Participation in Sport (*CAAWS Newsletter*, Fall 1985; Phillips, Summer 1986). In connection with this Festival, the Ottawa Liaison Subcommittee on Participation in Sport which was continually chaired by a CAAWS member and the Ottawa Recreation Department created and ran programs beginning in 1985 to increase the participation of girls between the ages of 13 and 17. These monitored programs showed a 19 percent increase in participation rates of that age group over a two year period (CAAWS Policy Collective, 1991). From 1987 onwards, CAAWS officially joined with these two agencies in the two year development of *Breakthrough - Girls and Women in Sport*, the celebration day which focused on more than just participants.

Breakthrough differed from *Walk and Roll* in the scope of its programs. *Walk and Roll* sought to raise awareness through brochures and displays, and participation through a short activity route. *Breakthrough* incorporated a broad range of activities which were organized by community agencies in order to reach a wide-range of people.

> Recreation centres and universities opened their facilities free of charge for females; women's tournaments took place at the college level; free squash lessons were offered at various clubs ... (Reece, 1991, p. 20)

As part of *Breakthrough*, CAAWS organizers hosted a day-long workshop for recreational programers. The workshop sessions addressed program start-up, ethnicity, gender sensitivity, and a holistic approach for sport. The Ottawa Board of Education bused school children to the opening ceremony where sport demonstrations took place; film and video presentations described female achievements in sport; and a sport fair was set up. Local media provided coverage of the events throughout the day. During the evening the CAAWS organizing committee held a local *Breakthrough Awards*

Celebration to recognize and applaud Ottawa women who had broken through traditional stereotypes and advanced women and girls in sport (Ibid).

Breakthrough successfully linked women and girls in sport to the whole community through the media, the schools, the recreation programmers, and recreation institutions. Past Board members felt it exemplified a new generation of event that promoted physical activity for females in a more meaningful way than the *Walk and Roll* events of 1984 and 1985.

> I think these women and sport days have a little bit of a combination [of advocacy and project oriented]. So, they are actually doing things. [For example,] the women that are running them like the Ottawa Recreation Department, they're saying we want to do something for girls because we need to show them what can be done; we need to show people that in our community that it is worth supporting the girls and women, that we do need a different approach, that we are being successful in using a novel approach. This is a celebration day because it's been so successful. (Lauren)

As of 1991, Port Coquitlam in British Columbia and Etobicoke in Ontario began implementing variations on this model of participation and leadership development (Berck, 1991; Taylor, 1991).

The second context in which CAAWS worked to develop a feminist leadership model was the National Coaching School for Women. As an annual week-long course specifically for women volleyball and basketball coaches, this unique School taught a women-centered and athlete-centered approach to coaching. In 1986 and 1987, as the School developed from an idea to reality, CAAWS provided administrative services to support the endeavor (CAAWS Operational Planning Document, 1986). Initially the School's founders, one of whom was also a founder of CAAWS, envisioned CAAWS as the coordinating agency behind the School. However, the CAAWS Board of Directors rejected this idea because of other priorities (CAAWS, Memo, 1987; CAAWS, Board Meeting Minutes, February 15, 1987).

Between 1987 and 1991, past and present CAAWS members acted as advisors to the School through participation on a working committee. Six of the eight committee members currently or formerly held Board positions in CAAWS (National Women's Coaching School, Spring 1988). Later CAAWS' involvement also included participation on the curriculum development committee and the feminist process group with representatives from: Basketball Canada, Volleyball Canada, the Canadian Soccer Association, the Canadian Interuniversity Athletic Union, the Canadian College Athletic Association, the Coaching Association of Canada, and FAS Women's Program (CAAWS, AGM Reports, 1990). The feminist process group generated methods for integrating feminist values into the school's working committee, external relationships, and technical and theoretical components (McDonald, 1989).

The following feminist beliefs served as guides for curriculum development and set this school apart from the mainstream. Coaches facilitated; nurtured tenderness and caring abilities in athletes; listened well; focused on athlete centered needs; taught decision-making skills; taught appropriate aggression; and shared power by sharing knowledge with athletes and peers (National Coaching School for Women, 1989). The school exposed young athletes and coaches to feminist values and athlete-centered coaching methods through their programs (Baxter, 1989). The School's leaders hoped that this model for technical leadership development could eventually be used for other sports as well.

STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS

Distribution of Authority

Between 1985 and 1987, the structure of CAAWS was redesigned three times – in 1985, 1986, and 1987. The first restructuring consisted of incremental changes altering the pattern of authority and responsibility. The second and third designs departed drastically from the earlier structures. Generally, all three design phases correspond with the incremental and revolutionary changes that were occurring in the organization at these times. What follows is an analysis of these structural changes with respect to changes in ideology and strategy.

The initial incremental changes to the structure of CAAWS occurred after the 1984-1985 Board had reviewed the organization's performance and had planned adjustments to the communications, membership, policy development, and image (CAAWS, CAAWS Planning Process, 1985; Kent, 1985). The principal alteration occurred at the executive level; a coordinating committee composed of three positions – finance, funding, and planning – was created to oversee the day-to-day administration. Implementing this committee increased CAAWS' internal accountability and financial responsibility. Prior to 1985, the lack of a coordinating mechanism lead to the neglect of some administrative functions, such as planning, while other activities were duplicated. The redesigned structure that was implemented at the 1985 AGM[2] is represented in Figure 3 on page 74.

The executive level structural changes also included a reformulation of the Activity Committees. The revised committees addressed the areas of: advocacy, communication, membership, and special events. In this new structure the advocacy committee and the research committee were combined because of the perceived interdependence. Membership was removed from the communications portfolio and given a distinct position in order to emphasize the need to secure and maintain members. Special events had become important with the development of *Walk and Roll,* and thus, this

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[2] For comparison, the 1982 structure illustrated in Figure 2 is on page 54.

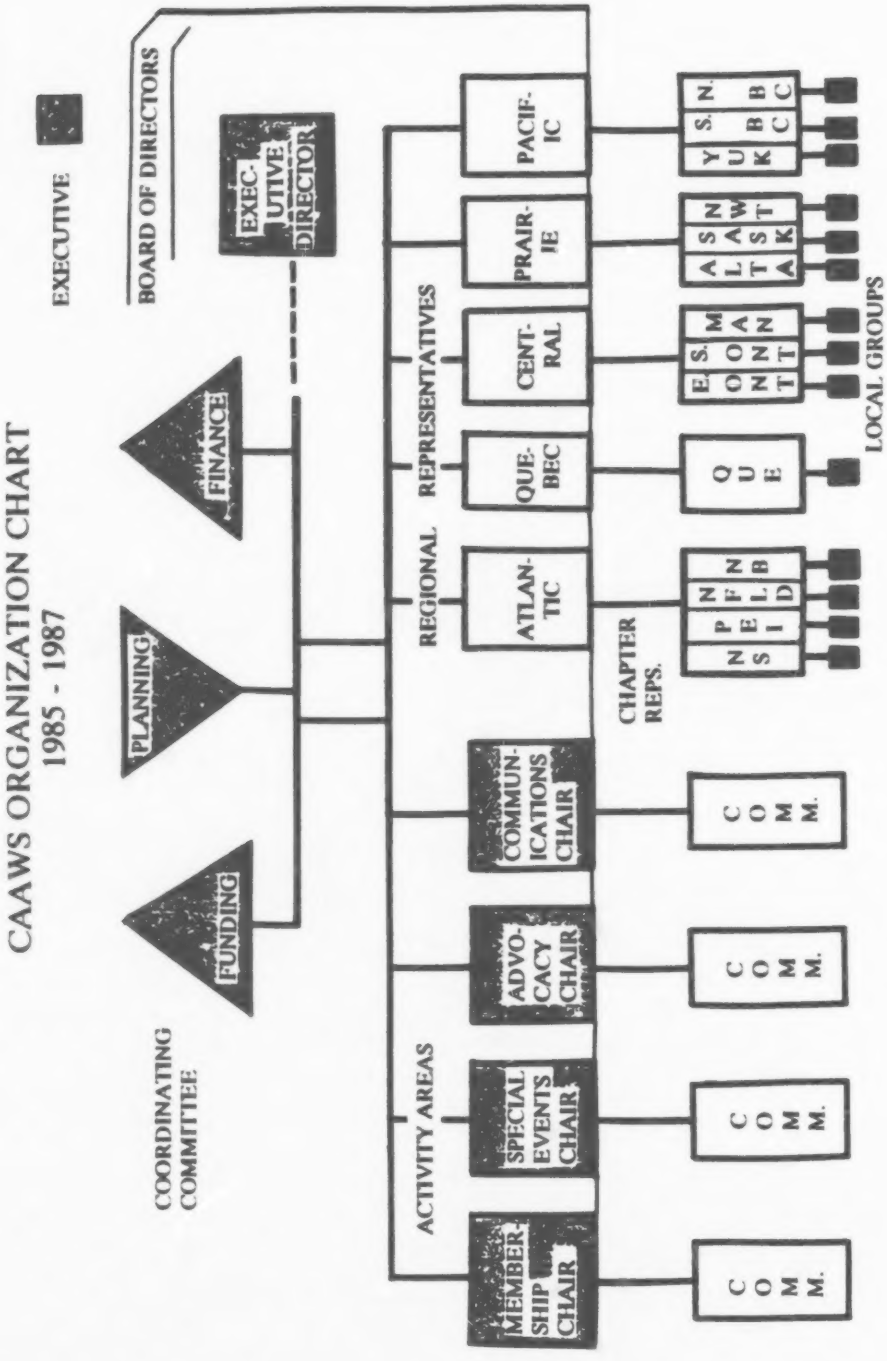

Figure 3: CAAWS Organization Chart 1985 - 1987

Committee was responsible for national leadership projects and high profile events.

A further structural change involved reducing the number of board positions. The regional representative positions were reduced from twelve to five by grouping the less populated provinces and the territories together. For example, the four Maritime provinces became the Atlantic region, and grouping Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Northwest Territories formed the Prairie region. This redesign revealed the limited importance placed on contact between the National Executive and the local level members. Although, consideration of the limited financial resources also played a role in the redesign. Overall, the restructuring attempted to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the Board and Executive members, create job descriptions, and increase accountability.

The second set of structural changes which took place in November 1986, occurred as a part of the recreation of CAAWS. They, like the first set of changes, reshaped the Board of Directors and the Executive. The coordinating committee's responsibilities expanded to include the duties of the activity area chairwomen (CAAWS, Board Meeting Minutes, November 14-16, 1986). Significantly, the four activity chairwomen became directors without portfolios. One board member that I interviewed questioned whether this restructuring came about in order to align the structure with the changing philosophy or to reduce the power and authority of the Advocacy Committee Chairwoman. At this point in time, she was one of the main contenders in the struggle to determine the type of advocacy organization CAAWS would be.

In 1987, CAAWS underwent the third restructuring process. During this part of the recreation the Board's role changed from supporting the work of the Advocacy Committee to being the advocacy body. The redesigned Coordinating Committee consisted of communications, administration, and marketing coordinators, who dealt with: internal and external publications and public relations, personnel, liaison, fiances, membership, fund raising, promotions, and a conglomeration of parts from other portfolios (CAAWS, Board Meeting Minutes, January 23-24, 1988). The four positions held by Directors without portfolios evolved into three new portfolios designed to facilitate the advocacy process. Under the auspices of these portfolios directors would identify and clarify issues and strategies for advocacy. Initially the priority issues identified were Common Focus, images of women and physical activity, and feminist models in education and sport leadership. As necessary, the issues identified could be redefined in order to adjust to the changing environment (CAAWS, Board Meeting Minutes, January 23-24, 1988). During 1987-1989, policy, sport, and fitness became the issues. The CAAWS organizational chart for 1987-1989, Figure 4, is on page 76[3].

Another structural change occurring in this phase was a change in their structuring metaphor. Originally, in 1981 CAAWS' founders relied on their past experiences, generally in sport organizations, to design a national

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[3] Refer back to page 74 for Figure 3, the description of the structural changes made in 1985.

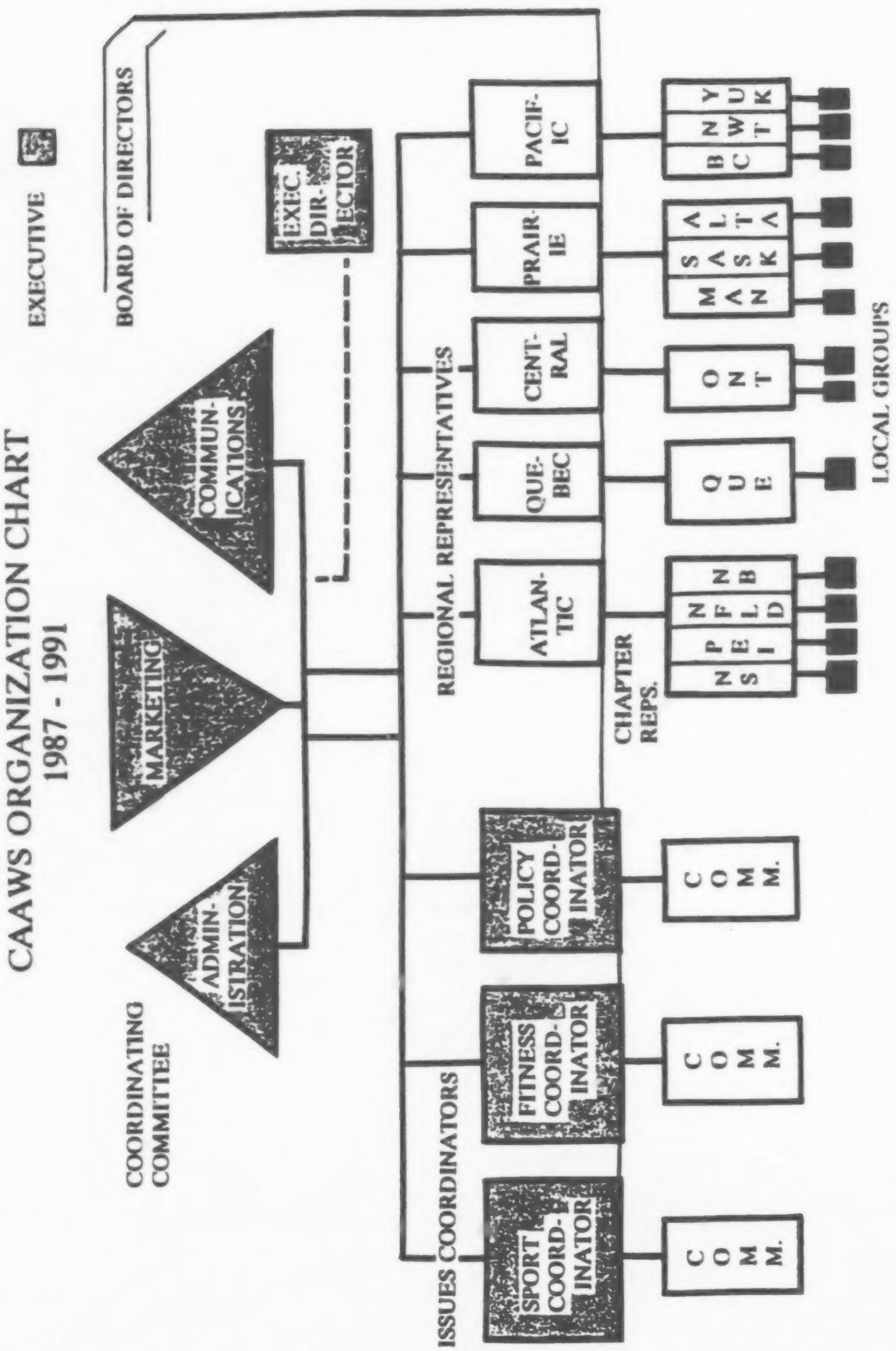

Figure 4: CAAWS Organization Chart 1987 - 1991

structure for CAAWS in which the broad general membership funnelled upward through local chapters and provincial groups toward the national board and executive. This image was redrafted in early 1988 to the image of a web where ideas and communication flowed inward to the central office, and outward to the individual members of CAAWS.

> Each Board of Directors member has both shared and specialized responsibilities in the association. Power is shared and the functioning of CAAWS and its activities can be likened to a web. All initiatives are inter-related. (CAAWS, Policies and Procedures, 1988)

The change in organizing principles occurred due to members increased experience with feminist processes and the organization's refocusing upon the importance of these processes.

Another example of the change in operations due to the increased importance placed on a feminist process occurred when voting rights were extended to the Executive Director, a salaried position (CAAWS, Letter, 1987). As feminists, CAAWS members encouraged equal power between board members and paid staff, as well as sharing of the responsibility for

CAAWS. As one of the decision makers, the Executive Director[4] shared the power with the Board rather than the Board having power over her. This alteration moved CAAWS closer to operating in the manner of some women's organizations rather than most sport organizations.

Between 1987 and 1989 Board and Committee meetings employed more radical feminist tools for operating. Besides consensus decisions-making and rotating chairpersons, these tools also included such rotating positions as time keepers, vibes watchers, and notetakers[5]. As well, agenda items were prioritized by allocating a specific number of crescent moons to each item; the greater the number of moons the greater the importance of the item. The time keeper used the crescent moons as a guide to monitor the length of time afforded each agenda item.

After setting the agenda, participants engaged in a process known as checking-in. This involved informing the others present about oneself in relation to the current meeting. For example: each participant would report on how energetic or non-energetic she felt; she would announce which agenda items were important to her; she could brief the others on something affecting her at that time. Then in accordance with what had been said the vibes watcher observed the members' participation levels. If she felt someone was not being heard, or if there was underlying tension that she felt needed to be addressed, she could stop the discussion and identify the problem. Past Board members interviewed considered this job intense and difficult. Notetaker, a less stressful role, recorded the minutes of the meeting. The rotation of these responsibilities kept all participants equal and aware of the processes involved in meeting.

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[4] Note that the position title, Managing Director, does not appear on the organizational charts; prior to 1988 the positition was called Executive Director.

[5] The description of these positions and the use of feminist tools is a culmination of the descriptions given by the Board members interviewed. For a more in-depth discussion of such tools see Starhawk (1988).

Beyond the National Board and Committee, the degree to which other members and groups in CAAWS stressed feminist processes varied widely. Since regions were generally still struggling to recruit and maintain members, it is likely that the national emphasis on process had little effect on most Chapters. The Ottawa Chapter may have been an exception in that members there had direct contact with the national office and its feminist operating procedures.

In 1988 and 1989, the women joining the Board were less adament in their adherence to feminist process as set down by the 1986-1987 Board. The new directors included founders, members who had been on the Board prior to 1986, and women who were new to the national level. Their different experiences inside CAAWS, and with the feminist process, created different reactions and expectations.

> So, the women who were coming to the board worked from the same genus of feminism. They weren't into making fun of life saying: let's ask the goddess for a little help now - or who's going to be the feelings keeper. All of those fun things that we used to do; they didn't seem to get into that. They seemed to be a little bit more pragmatic. (Patricia)

The importance of feminist organizing tools and feminist process decreased as new directors took office. Another factor that reduced members' support for feminist process was the changing funding environment.

Unlike the financially supportive environment in which the strategic plan evolved and feminist process rose to prominence, the Board members of the late 1980s faced an uncertain environment. In light of impending funding cuts members valued quick reaction time. However, feminist process with its caring, nurturing, and consensus decision-making took time. Some directors believed that the time spent on the process could have been better spent on projects and fund raising.

> I guess I am not real keen on what they call feminist process because I find we never get anything done. Everybody is so concerned with taking care of everybody else's stuff. ... I find that in some of the feminist organizations they just won't give up; they are so intent on reaching forever consensus that I find it is very slow moving and unsatisfying. (Bonny)

Beliefs concerning the significance and extent to which feminist process needed to be employed divided the Board Members into two groups, those that saw the process as leading to the product and those "that wanted to get some work done", as one past board member put it. These conflicting views added to the struggles within CAAWS between 1987 and 1989.

Membership

In the early years CAAWS drew its membership based on an open door policy to all women. However, within the organization there was conflict between the members based on individuals' politics of identity. Some lesbian members of CAAWS wanted their issues to be included in the organizational agenda. Their struggle highlighted their difference but did not illuminate the identity of the rest of CAAWS members[6]. The hidden politics of identity for these other members came to light between 1985 and 1987 when the entire organization was being revamped.

An integral part of the recreation of CAAWS was the decision to prioritize advocacy work first and the education of its members second. In terms of membership this decision meant that, although the organization was still open to all women, it might attract fewer laywomen. One member described the result this way:

> It's like, you have to have a deeper political analysis before you see what an umbrella group for women in sport can do. But in some ways, that's a negative, in that we don't have this huge mass membership. But, it's a positive in that the membership that we do have are very aware, very issue oriented and very motivated for change, because they see the potential of using a national level of change. (Allison)

This consequence was problematic for the 1986-1987 Advocacy Committee because they felt that the advocacy work that needed to be done would be best achieved if current CAAWS members invested their time and resources into educating many more women on the issues in sport and how to advocate. Thus the Advocacy Committee supported a recruitment pattern based on the ideology of sisterhood where all women regardless of background are welcomed into the organization (Adamson, et al., 1988). CAAWS had operated in this fashion from 1982 to 1985.

In order to continue attracting women to the organization, and specifically women with knowledge of the sport system, the distribution network for the CAAWS newsletter expanded via target groups. Potential member target groups were identified and given a one year free membership in CAAWS. As of April, 1986 CAAWS had between 85 and 137 members (CAAWS, Board Meeting Minutes, April 5-6, 1986). The approximation of the membership was due to the membership year being altered at this time and the expiry date of some membership being unclear. In 1985 the target group was National team women athletes and coaches; in 1986 female national sport administrators and the Au Feminin Sport and Fitness Network, a group of Ontario women sport administrators, received free copies (CAAWS, Board Meeting Minutes, November 14-16, 1986); and in 1987 CAAWS targeted fitness administrators and leaders of provincial, municipal and local governments, provincial sport associations, other women's groups and individuals interested in women in sport and physical activity (CAAWS, Letter, 1987).

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[6] This observation is my own based on the interviews which emphasized the struggles for and struggles against having lesbian issues as part of the CAAWS agenda. What the interviewees did not classify, beyond identifying them as liberal feminists, was who was on the other side of the argument.

Although not explicitly stated or perhaps even recognized, the membership drives targeted a very homogeneous group of women. One interviewee observed the select nature of the CAAWS membership in this way:

> I have my own experiences and I think they are very valid but they are only mine. And I'm educated and middle class - come on - it's biased. And you don't see any people who aren't really educated and really white on that CAAWS Board. (Wanda)

She continued on to argue that the language in CAAWS brochures and at one of its conferences

> would not make most women in Canada comfortable because they wouldn't understand what we were saying and to me this is a form of intimidation ... The women that we supposedly want here would feel more comfortable right now with the women who are right now probably cleaning our rooms. This went over like a lead balloon!

Thus, I believe CAAWS members were generally, white, middle class, well educated women.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The incremental and revolutionary changes that CAAWS underwent resulted from poor performance, a change in leadership, and a change in external relations. Since CAAWS obtained the majority of its financial resources from Federal Government departments, the type of activities members chose depended upon the type and quantity of funding available. Initially project-based funding was the most plentiful. But in the spring of 1985, the Secretary of State began providing core operating funds to CAAWS. These funds permitted CAAWS to operate regardless of the status of its projects and its relationship with FAS Women's Program.

In 1985, the Secretary of State Women's Program awarded CAAWS $5000 for operations. Beginning in April 1986 the amount increased significantly to $75,000 (KPMG Peat Marwick, 1988). Of this, $55,600 covered expenses such as postage and telephone expenses, printing, executive and representative travel to meetings, communication allowance for regional representatives, one full time staff salary, and rental of office space. The National Conference absorbed the remaining $19,400.

Having an office and full time staff person effected the organization substantially. One board member remembered the consequences this way.

> Clearly, what it did was it bureaucratized the organization very quickly. It meant a lot of energies went into maintaining the Secretary of State files. The applications and the accountability were regular and expected, and CAAWS met those requirements... It moved us away from a heavy dependance on volunteers and into a moderate dependence on volunteers shared with staff people who were paid. (Darlene)

The negative effects from the bureaucratization included an increased amount of paperwork and a loss of importance felt by some Board Members because of their reduced participation in daily operations. On the other hand, it created a central clearing house for information; a person to keep up on correspondence; and increased updates on activities and issues to all members.

The FAS Women's Program during 1986-1987 continued funding the newsletter, the membership information kit, and special projects to an approximate total of $30,000. Non-governmental funds, generated by membership fees, conference fees, and interest totalled approximately $5,000. Overall, the budget in 1986-1987 was $109,650, a $45,000 increase over the previous year (KPMG Peat Marwick, 1988). For the complete ten year record of revenues generated by CAAWS see Appendix C.

The budget continued to rise sharply in the 1987-1988 fiscal year, with a $20,000 net increase. Contributing to the increase was the Secretary of State Women's Program, for an additional $13,500, the FAS Women's Program by $1,000, and $4,300 through non-governmental fund raising activities (KPMG Peat Marwick, 1988). During the period 1984 to 1987, the financial resources available increased by approximately $60,000. Thus, while CAAWS members redesigned organizational systems they had substantial support for their efforts through the government grants. The Secretary of State operating funds gave CAAWS more than a financial boost, it also gave it independence.

Since its inception, CAAWS members sought to improve the status of women in general and women in sport by connecting with both the sport system and the larger realm of feminist organizations. For the first four years it operated mostly through the Fitness and Amateur Sport Women's Program project funds. Because they would be criticizing their primary funding source, CAAWS members restrained their critique of the sport system. Consequently, during 1982 to 1985 CAAWS was more closely connected to the sport realm than to the women's movement.

Once the majority of funds came from Secretary of State, CAAWS members felt they could be more critical of the sport system. As well, obtaining funds from Secretary of State, the primary financial supporter of feminist organizations, gave members a sense that women in sport issues were finally recognized as a legitimate part of the women's movement. This may have reinforced members' more radical viewpoint regarding the advocacy business of CAAWS and the increased importance they placed on feminist process.

The relationship between CAAWS and the FAS Women's Program had monetary and personal components. Each FAS Women's Program Manager participated in the founding of CAAWS and at some point in time held a position on the CAAWS Board of Directors. The large amount of time and energy these women gave to both organizations fostered strong feelings and opinions regarding the future operations of them. This devotion played a significant role in the relationship between these organizations. Tensions arose between CAAWS and the FAS Women's Program as the Executive of CAAWS increased their support for a more radical liberalism when a more conservative Women's Program Manager took office.

The conflict began in 1987 and continued into 1990. It initially centered around those women who had been in leadership positions in both CAAWS and the FAS Women's Program. However, it quickly spread and divided the CAAWS National Board into two camps, one supporting each side. The conflict began when the Founding Leaders who had returned in 1986 questioned the FAS Women's Program Manager in regards her decision to fire an employee who later became the Managing Director of CAAWS. This confrontation caused the deterioration of the previously collaborative relationship between the organizations. Poor relations continued even after the majority of the Founding Leaders left the board in November 1987.

Three factors kept the conflict fueled. The first factor, a lack of trust between the Women's Program Manager and the Managing Director of CAAWS, carried over from the previous employee-supervisor relationship. The second factor feeding the conflict resulted from the different orientations of CAAWS and the Women's Program. The new philosophy statement and strategic plan of 1986-1987 stressed feminist process. In order to continue the promotion of feminist process, the Board of Directors hired a Managing Director whose ideologies fit with the new vision and mandate. In contrast to this, the new FAS Women's Program Manager was product oriented. In her position she allocated funds for projects and expected grant recipients to comply with the funding regulations. Hence, while CAAWS members focused on creating a feminist process from which a product would result, the Women's Program Manager concentrated on the creation of end products, not the process of creation. One past Board Member described the different orientations as a difference in rationalities. As a government representative, the FAS Women's Program Manager needed to question the cost effectiveness, quality, and usefulness of projects and products. On the other hand, the more radical feminist perspective of CAAWS, begged questions like "is the process open to all women?"; "is literacy a problem?"; and "are all the women involved being heard?". These different philosophies enhanced an already difficult situation between the FAS Women's Program and CAAWS.

Linked to the issue of different working philosophies was the third factor that fueled the conflict, that of differing feminist perspectives. CAAWS operated in two different realms. On one hand, CAAWS belonged to the women's movement with most of its funds from the Secretary of State. On the other hand, CAAWS through its mandate and FAS funding, participated in the realm of sports. Operating in two spheres was difficult because agencies operating in each sphere had different expectations of their role and that of the government.

> I think that most women's organizations get the money for programs and then spend it as they see fit. In sport [it is different]; you get the money and you have got someone over your shoulder watching how that money is spent. The government has as much say in how you spend the money, or they feel they have as much say as your Board of Directors. While in women's groups, you would barely let the consultant come in the room. It is really hands off because that is the patriarchal system giving something to a group trying to bring about change; of course, they wouldn't know what is good, or how this should be spent. (Felicia)

Within CAAWS these differing expectations appeared with some Board members believing that once proposals have been funded government representatives should remain outside of the process, and others expecting government representatives to become partners in the work. Personnel at the FAS Women's Program believed in the later. These differing expectations resulted in the process and the final products not meeting the expectations of either CAAWS members or the Women's Program Manager. This situation produced conflict amongst those involved.

The differing opinions regarding ways of operating gave rise to struggles around FAS funded projects. Difficulties in producing a poster illustrate the intra-organizational conflict. CAAWS received funds from Fitness Canada to create a poster depicting positive images of females partaking in physical activity. They created and produced a poster showing a variety of females participating in various physical activities. By the end of the project, however, the Fitness Canada consultant felt she had not had enough input into the decisions. As a government representative she saw a definite role for herself in the process of creating the poster. In contrast those CAAWS members working on the poster felt she should take a smaller role. As a result, FAS representatives were not fully satisfied with the finished product and the second phase of the project was cancelled (FAS Women's Program, November 6, 1989).

A second example of the different premises on which some CAAWS members and representatives of FAS were operating revolved around the appointment of a CAAWS representative to Fitness Canada's Advisory Committee on Girls and Women and Physical Activity. During late 1987 and into 1988, Fitness Canada was restructured such that all staff would take into account women's issues rather than having a separate program with that mandate. An advisory committee was to monitor the handling of these women's issues (CAAWS, Coordinating Committee Meeting summary notes, February 2, 1988). CAAWS members believed in the monitoring process and felt that with their new emphasis on fitness they should have a representative on this committee. As reported by the Managing Director of CAAWS, Fitness Canada requested the names of three potential CAAWS representatives. In response, the CAAWS Board identified three qualified members, with the intent that whichever woman was available for the meeting would be the one to attend (CAAWS, Board Meeting minutes, May 27-28, 1989). Fitness Canada, on the other hand, envisioned a process whereby a panel within FAS would select specific people to sit on the Advisory Committee (FAS Women's Program, May 23, 1989). Acting from this perspective Fitness Canada rejected all three CAAWS women as potential committee members because they felt the women were not familiar with the fitness area (CAAWS, Board Meeting minutes, May 27-28, 1989).

The situations cited above arose from the different foundations on which individuals were operating. The FAS representatives believed they had a right to be involved, and some CAAWS members agreed. Other CAAWS members clearly thought a more hands-off approach by government was appropriate. The combination of these three factors: different feminist perspectives, different views on feminist process, and personality struggles, all contributed to dividing CAAWS and creating a volatile, and often painful relationship between CAAWS and the FAS Women's Program. The struggles over these issues lessened as changes in the Secretary of State Women's Program became critical.

PHASE TWO SUMMARY

The re-creation of CAAWS instilled a more radical approach to its liberal feminism. Changes to the strategy, structure, and external relations all supported this new philosophy. However, throughout the 1985 to 1989 period the funding environment grew more uncertain and this situation demanded further changes to CAAWS. Hence, between 1989 and 1991 CAAWS again altered its philosophy; the specifics of the changes are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

PHASE THREE (1989 TO 1991)

As CAAWS members strove to unify their activities through the strategic plan, changes within the CAAWS Board and within the funding environment eventually made it impossible for members to continue their progress on the Common Focus strategy. By the end of 1988 the members' commitment level to the philosophy of 1986-1987, which emphasized a disengagement strategy and a feminist process, had decreased. Philosophical diversity amongst board members made relations with the FAS Women's Program and the Secretary of State Women's Program difficult. Externally, growing public conservatism and a slow economy produced a less favorable political and funding climate for women's organizations in general, and CAAWS specifically. The Federal Government gradually reduced the budget for the Secretary of State Women's Program and consequently, the operating budgets of Canadian women's groups. CAAWS' reliance on government funding made it vulnerable to shifts in government priorities, to the point where its existence was threatened.

The funding environment for women's organizations began to change, coincidentally, just when CAAWS received its initial funds under this rubric. In 1986, most women's organizations funded by Secretary of State received a five percent budget cut. In May 1989 the Secretary of State Women's Program cut its grant to CAAWS and other women's organizations by fifteen percent. Then less than one year later, the Federal Government decreased the Secretary of State budget by 1.6 million dollars. This translated into great funding losses to women's groups funded by the Secretary of State Women's Program. As of March 31, 1990 CAAWS and three other women's organizations lost their entire grant for core operating funds.

From 1989 to 1991 CAAWS members attempted to resolve conflicts amongst themselves and in their relationships with government departments. Then as the funding cuts took place, their attention turned towards planning the survival of CAAWS. In response to the funding crisis a sub-group of the Founding Leaders restructured parts of CAAWS in order to meet FAS funding criteria. These changes created a more cohesive alignment amongst the strategy, ideology and external relations of CAAWS.

This period and the study close with CAAWS receiving operating funds from FAS and thus, altering it identity from a women's organization to a sport organization. Since changes in the external environment instigated the alterations in CAAWS, I will examine the External Relations construct first in this chapter, followed by the Founding Context, Feminist

Strategy, Feminist Ideology and Values, and lastly, the Structural Components construct.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The denial of core operating funds to CAAWS in 1990 shocked the members. However, according to three past Board members, two funding requirements imposed in 1986 played prominent roles in the Secretary of State Women's Program refusal to continue funding CAAWS. Upon initially granting operating funds to CAAWS the Secretary of State Women's Program required that these funds constitute not more than thirty-five percent of the total CAAWS budget (CAAWS, Memo to CAAWS Board, 1986). Five years later sixty-five percent of the CAAWS budget, $78,246, came from Secretary of State. This funding agency also requested, at the outset, that CAAWS increase its membership base (Ibid). In 1986 the membership in CAAWS decreased over the year from 150 to 120. Over the following four years the membership increased to 235 (CAAWS, AGM Reports, 1990). Secretary of State considered this size of membership base small for a national organization and used this as part of its rational for cutting funding. These reasons are corroborated in an report to the Board of CAAWS from the FAS Women's Program Manager (FAS,, 1989).

A third reason for eliminating funding, which was the one publicly exclaimed, dealt with the issues CAAWS addressed.

> The rational given to CAAWS was that sport and physical activity are not priorities when considering all of the issues facing women in Canada today. 'Doubly Disadvantaged' women's groups are the priority. (CAAWS is cut!!!!, March 1990)

This rational emerged from the *Fairness in Funding Report* (1987), which evaluated the Secretary of State Women's Program and its funding practices. The report stated a need for the Women's Program to "look at the diversity of Canadian women, for example, visible minorities, disabled women and rural women" (CAAWS, Board Meeting minutes, July 21-23, 1987, p. 5). These target groups became known as the 'doubly disadvantaged'.

Another reason for the cut grew out of the difficulties CAAWS members had in completing projects within government guidelines (CAAWS, Letter, 1990; FAS, 1989). One difficulty was rooted in the different degrees of importance each agency placed on the feminist process. A second difficulty lay in CAAWS members' struggle to minimize the degree of state involvement in government funded projects. One Board member described the evolution of disagreements over projects between CAAWS members and government departments this way:

> I think where the discussions come about is when you set up the project in a certain way, you set it up in the language of the funding agency.

> So, you state a language to tell them what you are going to do and when they hold you to it, you end up saying, well, but that is not what we intended. So, there's the communication, the translation from feminist language to 'bureaucratese' that happens. (Janet)

Once the funding cuts began in 1989 there was little time to improve or salvage relations with the Secretary of State Women's Program.

In response to the fifteen percent funding cut CAAWS members tightened internal operations and worked to improve the failing relationship with the FAS Women's Program. To improve this relationship CAAWS members and the FAS Women's Program Manager agreed to increase communications between the two agencies by issuing periodic summaries of plans and activities to one another (CAAWS, Board Meeting Minutes, May 27-29, 1989). By late 1989, the situation with the FAS Women's Program had improved. Board members had altered their first priority from feminist process to task accomplishment, resulting in projects being completed within the given time lines. An agreement had been reached with Fitness Canada regarding the appointment of a CAAWS Board member to the Fitness Canada Advisory Committee. Her position with the Committee began September, 1989. Along with the CAAWS representative the Committee included two FAS Women's Program representatives (CAAWS, Letter, 1989). Having a representative from each organization working on the same committee helped improve the relationship between the two organizations.

Another indicator of the improved relations involved the FAS Women's Program sharing internal government documents with CAAWS. The case in point involved a carded national team athlete who approached CAAWS for help when, after becoming pregnant, her funding from Sport Canada was terminated for the duration of her pregnancy and maternity leave. CAAWS members intervened on her behalf by discussing the policy with the FAS Women's Program representatives. At the time the athlete pregnancy policy was under review and the Women's Program Manager gave CAAWS the internal draft version of the document. CAAWS then reciprocated by providing comments on the draft.

After the Secretary of State announced its major funding cuts in March 1990, CAAWS members devised a plan to keep the organization alive. Foreseeing no future as an organization criticizing sport from the standpoint of a women's organization, they re-envisioned the organization as operating from within the realm of sport. They abandoned their disengagement strategy and forfeited their independence from FAS by applying to FAS for funding as an umbrella organization for girls and women in sport. The proposal submitted in February 1991 argued that CAAWS be recognized and funded by both Sport Canada and Fitness Canada. From Sport Canada they requested a budget of $275,000 which would covered operating costs and some project costs. The projects included were: the National Strategies Conference and Annual General Meeting, an evaluation of CAAWS, the *Action Bulletins, the Action Newsmagazine, Breakthrough Celebrations, NSO Gender Equity Workbook,* and Community Advocacy/Sport Day. Under the proposed conditions Fitness Canada would supply $38,000 to cover the costs of a *Parent's Handbook and Girls and Activity: A Program for Day Care Centres.*

In the summer of 1991 FAS accepted in principle the proposal and CAAWS became the national umbrella organization for women in sport and physical activity in Canada. CAAWS' movement from the realm of women's organizations to the realm of sport was epitomized by the placement of its office. Prior to this time the national CAAWS office was situated in an older remodeled boarding house with other women's organizations and several one and two room offices located near downtown Ottawa. In contrast, its new office opened in the sleek multi-story national center for sport and fitness organizations which is located in Gloucester, a suburb of Ottawa. In return for becoming a sport and physical fitness organization, CAAWS received a $190,000 operating and project budget from FAS Women's Program on a year to year basis. In the future, if the Federal government fully accepts CAAWS in this position the funding will come from Sport Canada and Fitness Canada automatically every year. By creating this new relationship with the Federal Government, CAAWS members doubled their previous operating budget, but relinquished independence, in the sense of their ability as sport system outsiders to be very critical of the system.

FOUNDING CONTEXT

Founding Circumstances

Coalition building was vital role in the creation of CAAWS as women in sport gathered together to understand the issues and form a network. Forming coalitions became important again during the latter part of the 1980s and the early 1990s. CAAWS members formed connections at both local and national levels in order to advance the position of women in sport. I will discuss the evolution and significance of these coalitions under the Feminist Strategy section.

Founding Leaders

The founding leaders played a critical role in keeping CAAWS operating during this phase. During the 1989-1990 term of office the Board of Directors began with fourteen Directors, but for a number of personal reasons five of the Directors left their positions and two became inactive. Of the seven women remaining three were founding leaders. Most interviewees agreed that these women formed the nucleus that kept CAAWS alive. In Figure 1, the Founding Leaders Participation Rates graph, on page 34, the dotted area on the 1989 bars represents the altered ratios that occurred because of the sudden decrease in directors. The continuation of CAAWS depended upon these women plus the Managers of FAS Women's Program who also happened to be founding leaders. Prior to FAS accepting CAAWS' funding proposal one of the founding leaders on the

CAAWS Board was hired to fill the vacant FAS Women's Program Manager position. Her personal influence and the power she aquired as Women's Program Manager helped her ensure that the CAAWS proposal was accepted. However, because the acceptance was in principle only, CAAWS was still funded by the Women's Program. Consequently, the Women's Program Manager, a founder of CAAWS, had significant influence in the operations of CAAWS as well as in the government sport bureaucracy.

FEMINIST STRATEGY

In May 1989 the Secretary of State Women's Program reduced funding by fifteen percent for many of the women's organizations that it sponsored (CAAWS, Board Meeting minutes, May 27-29, 1989), CAAWS included. In order to cope with the loss of approximately $9,000 dollars CAAWS reorganized its priorities. At the May 27-29 Board Meeting members decided to replace the 1989 National Conference in Montreal with a provincial workshop addressing local issues in February 1990. In conjunction with this workshop the AGM and Breakthrough Awards would be held. In order to continue operating, members wrote grant submissions and remained within budget on all projects. Work on three projects: Common Focus handbook, the university course survey and the poster with Fitness Canada, continued. CAAWS members also remained involved in the National Coaching School for Women, and kept in contact with other national women's organizations.

CAAWS Board members took more drastic measures upon the elimination of all Secretary of State funding. They notified the membership of the situation, called for letters of protest to be written and directed to government officials, and solicited donations and membership fees from the general membership (CAAWS is cut!!!!, March 1990). In an attempt to obtain funds while adapting to the situation they requested operating funding from FAS and a one-time project grant from Secretary of State; both were denied (CAAWS, Submission to Sport Canada, 1991; CAAWS, Letter, 1990). A previously scheduled organizational assessment and planning meeting for May 1990 went ahead as planned but with a more critical purpose: what form could CAAWS take to survive, or would it be better to fold.

Members decided to continue operating, but scale down all operations. Accomplishing this meant eliminating all staff positions, selling the laptop computer, repriorizing the budget items, and reducing the board size.

> We downsized everything. ... We got rid of everything that was not absolutely essential in terms of operating and we now have no permanent office staff. Whatever work is done is done by volunteers; it's not near enough, but it's all we can afford. We have more or less abandoned the structure of the regional reps. and the portfolios. ... Everybody who is participating is participating out of their own pockets. So, all the phone calls, meetings, and things like that are out of our pockets. It really isn't a structure, it's just down to a small group. So, we are back to

> where we were perhaps eight or ten years ago when we were first starting the organization. (Janet)

Similar to their operations between 1982 and 1985, the National Board functioned with no operating funds from which they could meet and communicate.

The CAAWS board consisted of seven women operating on a shoe string with each of them taking responsibility for one or two projects, such as the university course survey and the pregnancy policy. Part of keeping CAAWS viable was the continued work on CAAWS' publications. During the remainder of 1990 Board members wrote six *Action Bulletins* which were published and mailed to members by the Ottawa members. These notices kept members up to date on the national operating situation; government reports concerning the state of sport and fitness; and the activities of CAAWS. The 1989 National Conference was replaced by the Feminist Leadership Perspective issue of *Action*, the CAAWS newsmagazine.

After the funding crisis of March 1990, involvement in coalitions and connections to other women's organizations allowed CAAWS to continue operating.

> A number of us who have come back into CAAWS are, have been at the national level of a number of other organizations concurrently. So, we know the ropes. It's the networking of those organizations actually that's keeping CAAWS afloat. (Janet)

Networking and coalition building were positive factors in the founding of CAAWS, in the production of local activity, and in the survival of CAAWS when operating funds disappeared.

The critical role of external organizational ties at the national level is apparent in the following example. After the elimination of Secretary of State funding the national level of CAAWS required assistance in order to complete the advocacy handbook which was written as the national work of the Common Focus Strategy. When finished, CAAWS lacked the funds to publish this document, *A Policy Handbook: A Tool for Social Change*. CAAWS Board members recognized the value of this document to all women working towards legislative change and with this in mind approached the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW) for assistance. CRIAW agreed to publish the handbook, and in spring 1991, it was available to CAAWS members and the general public.

Unlike the Common Focus strategy that deliberately tied the local and national levels together through their similar mission -- to improve government policy, the emergent strategy of the late 1980s led the local and national levels to operate relatively independently of each other. Vancouver and Ottawa remained the primary sites of local level activity. However, they had distanced themselves from CAAWS by forming coalitions with other agencies. These other organizations worked more from within the existing sport structures than did the National Board of CAAWS. This different strategy led to local CAAWS members primarily promoting and working under names other than CAAWS.

The examination of provincial government policies and programs for women in sport as part of the Common Focus Strategy resulted in British Columbia CAAWS members forming an ad hoc committee with the government sport consultant responsible for women's issues at B.C. Sport and Recreation, a YWCA representative and two other representatives from B.C. Sport and Recreation. This group became the steering committee for a purposefully diverse committee that identified areas that limited opportunities for women in sport and physical activity in B.C. (Birch-Jones, 1988). By late 1988 the committee became known as the Provincial Women in Physical Activity and Sport Committee. It hosted a series of one-day workshops which resulted in the identification of issues and sub-issues facing girls and women; the formation of guiding principles for issue resolution; and the creation of recommendations concerning the government's role in advancing women and girls in sport and physical activity (CAAWS, AGM Reports, 1988). *A Policy Handbook,* the national level Common Focus activity, documented the growth and activities of this committee.

Eventually the Provincial Women in Physical Activity and Sport Committee evolved into Promotion Plus, a network for girls and women in physical activity and sport. CAAWS-BC members saw this new organization as an opportunity to revitalize their membership. Since CAAWS-BC had retained the image of being a lesbian organization, from the early 1980s and members felt that this image generated negative repercussions with respect to membership size and credibility, members hoped that affiliating with another organization would free them from that stigma. In order to disassociate with the lesbian image CAAWS-BC members disbanded in 1990 and directed their efforts into Promotion Plus. The purpose of the new organization was to "be a catalyst for action", to provide general information, and to keep women informed about jobs and volunteer positions available (CAAWS, Letter, 1990, p. 10).

Past board members of CAAWS speculated that the impetus to form Promotion Plus by organizations such as the YWCA, the Girl Guides, and some school boards grew out of their connection with *Walk and Roll,* a national one day participation event aimed at girls and women. During the organization of *Walk and Roll,* these agencies, with the assistance of CAAWS-BC, had increased their awareness of inequalities and low participation rates by girls and women in physical activities. Following *Walk and Roll* the aforementioned organizations became more cognizant of the situation and recognized that opportunities over the years had not increased. By joining together to form the provincially focused Promotion Plus, they sought to improve participation and opportunities for girls and women in recreation, sport and fitness.

Promotion Plus members, who numbered approximately 500 by November 1990, were highly productive during 1989 and 1990 (CAAWS, AGM Minutes, 1990). They wrote a Gender Equity Workbook for sport administrators. The Government of British Columbia was in the process of incorporating the guidelines set out in this workbook into its funding criteria for provincial sport and recreation organizations as I finished collecting data. Promotion Plus also hosted a provincial leadership conference in Vancouver in November 1990.

With Victoria, British Columbia hosting the 1994 Commonwealth Games, Promotion Plus members designed and presented recommendations that if implemented would demonstrate Canada's commitment to advancing the status of girls and women in sport. One of these recommendations, proposed that the Games serve as an apprenticeship program for women coaches whereby it would be possible to obtain multi-game experiences (Lay, Spring 1991).

In Ottawa, coalition building began in the early 1980s and produced an organization called the Ottawa Liaison Subcommittee on Participation in Sport. It focused on hosting *Breakthrough - Girls and Women in Sport Day* and on developing the On the Move local fitness program. Details of these programs were discussed in chapter four. Ottawa volunteers also kept the national office open by answering general inquiries, depositing membership fees and donations, publishing the newsmagazine and the bulletins. In this instance CAAWS members let the CAAWS name slide into the background but did not totally abandon it.

By the close of 1990 the National Board decided to redesign CAAWS such that it would qualify for core operating funds within a division of FAS. This deliberate change of strategy moved CAAWS from the more disengagement oriented strategy of 1986-1987 to a more mainstream focus within sport. Hence, they realigned the operations of the National Board with those of the local CAAWS members.

FEMINIST IDEOLOGY AND VALUES

The elimination of core operating funds made it difficult to continue functioning as a primarily advocacy based organization. In an attempt to keep the organization operating Board members applied for funding as an umbrella organization for physically active females. To facilitate this members rewrote the philosophy of 1987. The five advocacy Position Statements were reconstructed into the organization's goals and the strategies to achieve these were updated to contain more activities centered on increasing women's participation in physical activity. This reflected the reduction in importance of advocacy within the organization, a change that FAS would probably appreciate.

Along with this change CAAWS members created two sets of priorities, one for interacting with Sport Canada and the other for relations with Fitness Canada. They read:

CAAWS Priorities – Sport:

> In looking at priorities for 1991-92 the CAAWS Board of Directors has identified advocacy, new program development and leadership with the NSOs and national fitness organizations and umbrella groups as the primary goals.
>
> The first priority of CAAWS is to work with the national organizations who are the key delivery agencies at the national level.
>
> The second priority is to work on advocacy issues.
>
> The third priority is in the area of fund raising and networking for CAAWS.
>
> The fourth priority is to expand CAAWS membership.
>
> (CAAWS, Submission to Sport Canada for Core Support 1991-92, 1991)

CAAWS Priorities – Fitness:

> The first priority of CAAWS is to complete a follow up on the sale of the "On The Move" kits ...
>
> The second priority is to work on advocacy issues.
>
> The third priority is to develop some new practical tools that can be the catalyst for bringing about positive change ...
>
> The fourth priority is in the area of fund raising and networking for CAAWS.
>
> The fifth priority is to expand CAAWS membership.
>
> (CAAWS, Submission to Fitness Canada for 1991-92 Project Funds, 1991)

The first sport priority encapsulates one of the major philosophical changes of this period. Prior to 1991 formal relations with the national sport organizations did not exist. Even though women in sport leadership positions had been targeted during a membership drive in the later 1980s, CAAWS had a low and often negative profile with the sport organizations. In the Proposal (1991, p. 7-8) CAAWS members assessed this situation in the following manner:

> Over the years, several of the CAAWS advocacy actions have been interpreted as too radical for the sport delivery system with the result that tension was created between CAAWS and various NSOs and umbrella groups.

> Many NSOs have not made women in sport a priority for their organization and hence have not built a working relationship with CAAWS.

A past Board member suggested that only ten percent of those working in the national center for sport and fitness organizations in 1990 would recognize CAAWS and its activities.

The fourth sport priority reflected another redesign in the philosophy. Membership size had continued to be problematic throughout the history of CAAWS. Members became exhausted and left the organization due to the small number of active participants at the national level. Federal Government funding on membership size and therefore, perhaps the small membership negatively impacted the funding grants obtained by CAAWS. In 1986 through 1988 membership drives consisted of issuing free memberships to select groups of women involved in sport. This increased the number of members on record but did not increase the number of active members. Beyond the membership drives little was done in the late 1980s at the national level to solicit more members.

The new philosophy on members as stated in the Proposal read that in order to increase the number of members CAAWS "has adopted an inclusionary policy which includes both 'hands on' project individuals and advocacy members" (CAAWS, Submission to Sport Canada for Core Support 1991-1992, 1991, p. 1) Previous to this CAAWS members had struggled to focus on one area or the other; 1982 to 1985 project oriented individuals dominated; and between 1986 and 1989 members predominantly focused on advocacy. Implementing a perspective which held both positions at once may only be possible by decoupling the national and local level activities as was seen to develop in the late 1980s and early 1990s. As Beyer (1981, p. 183) argues "decoupling allows diverse elements to coexist" within one organization. Separating the two levels reduced the tension between differing philosophies on membership and thus, encouraged both the laywoman and the elite woman in the sport system to join CAAWS. This change in philosophy accommodated the change in potential funding source because FAS uses membership size as a determinant of budget allocation. For a listing of the membership size from 1981 to 1990 see Appendix D.

When Fitness and Amateur Sport accepted the proposal outlined above and CAAWS became the national umbrella organization for women in sport and physical activity in Canada and thus, moved from the realm of women's organizations funded by Secretary of State to being entirely absorbed in the sport and fitness community.

STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS

Distribution of authority was continually shifting during the 1989 to 1991 period. Initially the Board recognized that there were many difficulties in "being a national body trying to be effective at advocacy for change while incorporating regional representation throughout" (CAAWS, Board

Meeting Minutes, January 7-8, 1989). Another difficulty was the increasing reliance by volunteers on the paid staff. The staff reported being overworked because of some volunteers were not fulfilling their responsibilities. Because of these issues, the Board members were beginning to rethink the structure of CAAWS when the first funding cut occurred.

For a little over one year CAAWS Board members focused on their short term operations in order to survive the funding cuts. Once core operating funds ceased, authority in CAAWS fell by default to those seven women remaining on the Board of Directors. Authority became centralized into the hands of a few Board members and the Managing Director. However, in attempting to solve the funding crisis by restructuring CAAWS into an umbrella sport organization, the authority structure was again changed. This new vision of CAAWS did not resemble the advocacy organization which the 1986-1987 Board had created. The re-evaluatation of the philosophy and the positioning of CAAWS with respect to the government lead to the departure of the Managing Director. Thus, the authority was further centralized.

The Proposal submitted for funding consideration contained a new national structure for CAAWS that reflected this centralization of authority. It specified that a Board of eleven members would function primarily as a planning and monitoring body. The majority of daily operations would be dealt with by a four member executive and four office staff. There was one staff person allocated to each of the following areas: communications, membership, and national sport and fitness organizations. This division of labour identifies the new priorities within CAAWS.

The Board during this period realized the necessity of having a substantial membership base in order to meet FAS policy for funding. Because of this they formalized a decoupled structure that permitted the local project oriented members to reincorporated into CAAWS and continue their work with the coalitions they had formed. This was the extent to which Board members dealt issues of membership.

The final aspect of structure addressed at this time was the feminist process. With the changing philosophy on the Board due to new Board members and the departure of the Managing Director who was very process oriented, the CAAWS Board greatly reduced its use of the radical aspects of feminist process. This change also reflected a need to be acceptable to the FAS in order that they would consider funding CAAWS. Below are the reflections of one Board member concerning the state of feminist process within CAAWS at this time.

> So, my belief in the feminist process then is that I believe it is very, very important to check where people are at - at meetings, to ensure that everybody has the same level of information, and that the process goes slow enough that people are heard. I do not believe that the feminist process can work in national organizations to the extent that it can work when you actually live close to people, because you don't have that much time. The process needs to be modified by timelines of what

> needs to be done, or some alternatives being able to put in, whether that is telephone calls or whatever. But it cannot function the way CAAWS is functioning now. And it cannot because I think that the process is way too slow. And so something needs to shift around that process and I am not sure what that is. ...
>
> We need to replace board members and there are key decisions that need to be made. I don't see how we can make them. I honestly at this point don't see how CAAWS can make those decisions. We don't have money to meet; nobody is initiating. So, I feel if it wasn't for two other Directors, and myself CAAWS would be dead right now. And yet I believe in the feminist process, but I don't know how you make it happen with the distance and the time. So, someone says "so, whatever money you have you have to spend it on the process stuff". And I say "well, we don't have any money" and that is the problem. We don't have any besides project money. (Felicia)

Hence, for the survival of the national level of CAAWS the process was lost.

PHASE THREE SUMMARY

The period 1989 to 1991 saw CAAWS return to a more project and membership based orientation from its advocacy concentration of the previous three years. Struggles during these years centered primarily on the relationships between CAAWS and the state. Given the one hundred percent funding cut from the Secretary of State CAAWS members altered the organization's operations in order to be funded by FAS.

The interaction between members' views and resource availability resulted in a cyclical conflict among CAAWS members concerning what business CAAWS was in. During the first ten years of operations CAAWS went from operating on the fringe of the sport system to operating as a women's organization and back to operating as part of the sport system.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study explored change in a feminist sport organization over the first ten years of its existence. In order to examine this historical change I applied the concept of an organizational biography, as delineated by Kimberly (1987). The biographical approach emphasizes the connection between the founding state of an organization and the future actions and decisions made by its members. By combining theoretical literature on organizational change and on feminist organizations, I generated five organizational constructs: Founding Context, Feminist Ideology and Values, Feminist Strategy, Structural Components, and External Relations. The content of these five analytical constructs are interconnected and are influenced by organizational leaders and changes in the other constructs. These constructs provided a framework TO analyze the historical data on CAAWS.

Organizational change is categorized by Tushman, Newman, and Romanelli (1986) into two major types. There are periods of incremental change or convergence which are interupted by discontinuous change. The discontinuous change involves large scale alterations in the entire organization, whereas incremental changes affect only small portions of the organization. Occasionally, these slight changes in the organization accumulate to produce incongruence among organizational parts. When organizational members judge the incongruences to be unworkable, large scale discontinuous change is necessary in order to re-align the organization's sub-systems, such that they support each other once again.

Chapters Three, Four, and Five discussed the changes in CAAWS during the periods 1980 to 1985, 1985 to 1989, and 1989 to 1991, respectively. To conclude this analysis I will briefly review the theoretical perspectives behind each construct, and then use examples from the data to highlight the data and theory fit, good and poor, in this case study. From there I will hypothesize about the significant initial decisions that impact the history of CAAWS and potentially other feminist organizations. This chapter will conclude with a discussion concerning the limitations of the study and the implications of these decisions for feminist organizations and future research.

FOUNDING CONTEXT

The significance of the founding period on an organization stems from the founding circumstances and the founding leaders. A new organization incorporates the social conditions, technology, and resources found in its environment into its structures, strategies and systems (Boeker, 1988; Stinchcombe 1965). The outcome of this process marks the organization with the characteristics common to organizations formed during that period that operate in the same organizational sector. Once in place, the configuration of these organizational dimensions resists change because future options have been limited by the investment of resources into the selected structure and systems (Boeker, 1988; Kimberly, 1987). In this way the founding environment restricts future organizational possibilities.

Founders also leave their mark on the organization. Boeker (1988) demonstrated empirically that the age, education, and background in related work area of an entrepreneur influences the strategy adopted by the organization. In a similar vein, Kimberly (1979) illustrated how the values of a founder become incorporated into an organization. Literature on feminist organizations has identified the existence of small covert groups of leaders which influence organizations through informal decision making (Adamson, et al., 1988; Ristock, 1991). Based on this previous research, I expected to find evidence of the influence of both the founding social context and the founders.

The case study of CAAWS presented in chapters three through five corroborates this expectation. For CAAWS, the most significant impact of the founding environment was the set of trends in the women's movement. Of primary significance was the expansion of the domain for Canadian feminists which according to Adamson, Briskin and McPhail (1988) occurred from the early to mid-1980s. This enlargement resulted in women in sport creating a feminist advocacy organization, CAAWS, specifically targeted on sport. Within CAAWS the domain expansion continued beyond the founding, such that between 1985 and 1986 CAAWS members extended their feminist domain by acknowledging and taking a stand against homophobia in sport. Then in 1988 CAAWS members officially incorporated women in fitness issues into their domain by adding physical activity on to the end of the unabbreviated organizational name. By applying a feminist critique to the general area of physical fitness CAAWS members continued to push the edges of the feminist domain. So, for at least the first seven years of the organization's existence its members continued to broaden the spectrum of feminism and thereby continue the trend in the women's movement. I believe this was an extension of the founding conditions which promoted coalition building.

The data on CAAWS supports the notion that the founders influenced organizational structures and systems through their tenure. Within CAAWS the two sub-groups of founding leaders each endorsed a different vision of CAAWS. The values and beliefs of each sub-group supported changes in the ideology, strategy and structure over the course of CAAWS' first ten years. The IPC members, the first sub-group of founding leaders, created the original philosophy and structures between 1981 and 1982. The second sub-group of founding leaders, the 1982 Board of Directors, implemented some but not all of the ideas generated by the IPC. During 1982 and the subsequent two years CAAWS members primarily generated projects oriented towards the women at the grassroots. Then a small group of IPC members returned and altered the focus onto national and provincial advocacy. This change receded as the Board of Directors gradually became controlled by women from the 1982 Board of Directors whose vision for CAAWS was less unified. In the last phase of the study they attempted to mesh the two visions, thereby creating both a national advocacy organization and a local project oriented association in the one organization.

The history of CAAWS also substantiates the notion of covert leadership in feminist organizations. For example, in the latter 1980s, some Board members reported feeling on the outside of decision making. A Board member during this period stated that a small group of Board members formed an 'in' group who appeared to have more information on issues and worked in unison to influence the opinions of the rest of the Board.

> I found that sometimes when they wanted to use the feminist process they used it and when they wanted to get something the way they wanted, two or three people made a decision. ... And I thought it was sometimes, very clandestine working. I don't think that there was much trust built up. (Bonny)

This situation in CAAWS concurs with the findings of Adamson and her colleagues (1988).

> ... a lack of clear leadership meant that it was important to know the right person; this kind of personalism then became a substitute for leadership. Informal decision-making was made by an 'in' group through personal contacts and discussions outside the larger group. (p. 238)

This informal decision making was the strongest between 1986 and 1988, when the group of founding leaders from 1981 purposely returned to restructure CAAWS.

Along with the elements of this case study that support the significance of the founding and the founding leaders for the future direction of an organization, some of the data deviates from the theory. The theory and findings of Boeker (1988) and Stinchcombe (1965) do not address the possibility that various parts of an organization may differ in the degree to which the social context becomes imprinted upon them. For example, CAAWS members incorporated the tactic of coalition building from the women's movement. However, it was not uniformly implemented in the organization. Local-level CAAWS members assisted in forming the Ottawa Liaison Subcommittee on Participation in Sport and Promotion Plus in British Columbia. These coalitions arose out of women's interest in connecting with local women to make change. In contrast, the national level members networked informally with other organizations and at a personal level. For instance, one Board member's connection with CRIAW enabled a CAAWS handbook to be published. As Phillip (1990) illustrates in a schematic diagram, CAAWS had relationships with only four of the thirty three national women's organizations in her study, Pressure, Projects and Perceptions of Effectiveness: An Organizational Analysis of National

Canadian Women's Groups. CAAWS had a strong link to Media Watch and weak links to NAC, Women's Legal Education and Action Fund (LEAF), and the YWCA. It appears that at the national level relations were primarily built with women's issue organizations which focused on advocacy. Whereas, the local coalitions consisted primarily of sport and recreation groups, and focused on grass-roots education and opportunity enhancement.

Given that all levels of the organization were formed at approximately the same time, and were therefore, presumedly all exposed to the same environment of coalition building, there must be an alternative explanation for the difference observed. The low level of coalition building observed at the national level compared to the local level could have occurred because of the differing philosophies supported by members active in each level, especially during the latter 1980s. As one Board member stated when describing participation of local members,

> What happened then was some women got discouraged with trying to get something done nationally, found that we could get things happening at their community and municipal levels. I continued working at both levels nationally and municipally. But some people said I give up on CAAWS nationally; I'm going to put my efforts into the local scene. (Kelly)

At the national level, members may not have continued to build other coalitions because of the nature of their issues. CAAWS was on the edge of the women's movement in terms of issues and on the edge of the sport system due to its feminist perspective. Consequently, there may have been few organizations with which to form coalitions around women in sport issues. In general, the various degrees of coalition building in CAAWS might suggest that rather than founders imprinting the social context at the time of founding on the whole organization, different parts of the organization incorporate the original social context to various degrees.

Boeker's (1988) examination of the impact of founders assumes that an organization's founders or entrepreneurs are individuals or small groups of people who generally participate in the organization for a continuous, finite period of time that extends from the organizational genesis onward. The case study of CAAWS has demonstrated a very different pattern of founder activity. In CAAWS, as in other voluntary associations, founding leaders do not necessarily have a continuous position of authority in the organization. Founding leaders can cycle in and out of positions of power over time: on and off boards of directors, within and outside centers of decision making authority. Because of who they are and their history within the organization they can have substantial influence with other board members and decision makers.

In CAAWS, the effects of cycling are most dramatically seen in the case of the founding leaders who returned in 1986 after absences of between three and five years from national level operations. Though their participation between 1986 and 1987 CAAWS went from an organization with a vague outline for activities within four focal areas, leadership, advocacy, communications, and research, into an organization with a cohesive strategic plan in which all projects were part of the advocacy work. This transformation is consistent with the findings of Tushman, Newman, and Romanelli (1986) which state that executives new to an organization are three times as likely to implement revolutionary changes than existing executives (p. 42). The power and influence of these founding leaders demonstrated itself as CAAWS was redesigned over their tenure of eighteen months. After 1987, three founding leaders from the 1982 Board returned after five year absences, and two others after three years away. Although the participation of these women also lead to a re-creation of the structure and systems in 1991, their influence evolved over a series of years and thus, was not as dramatic.

The returning of the founding leaders from 1981 led to informal decision making and a build up of mistrust and resentment between these members and the some of the other Board members. Adamson, et al. (1988) argued that conflict is generated between new and old members due to a lack of trust.

> Experienced women often came to feel they were mistrusted because of their skills. Skilled women who could provide practical and theoretical leadership were frequently accused of being elitist or too theoretical, ..., attempting to control the group, being power-hungry, and so on. Such accusations usually ensured that those women left the organization; (p. 238)

When the second group of founding leaders returned during the latter 1980s and early 1990 this type of conflict was not noted. The difference in the conflict level could stem from the revolutionary changes the first group intended for the organization immediately upon their return. Whereas, the second set of founding leaders participated on the Board for at least two years before attempting to restructure the organization. By this time, the influence that they accrued because of their status as founders may have been reduced because of their familiarity to other Board members -- they were just Board members.

FEMINIST IDEOLOGY AND VALUES

The concept of interpretive schemes was central to the examination of the ideology and values of CAAWS. The three aspects of interpretive schemes -- domain of operations, principles of organizing, and evaluation criteria -- as outlined by Hinings and Greenwood (1988a), were useful in delineating the ideology and values. Hinings and Greenwood's (1988b) also forward the notion of institutionalized prescriptive and proscriptive rules in organizational spheres which lead to the legitimation and formation of certain organizational forms. They argue that the interpretive schemes which organization members adopt are bounded by these normative prescriptions. They continue on to argue that:

> Of course, one of the dynamics of change is the potential for strain between institutional definitions at the level of meaning, and task and environmental pressures. (p. 6)

Consequently, changes in an organization's environment can lead to alterations in the organization's domain of operations, principles of organizing, and criteria for evaluation.

Organizational changes were noted in all three aspects of the interpretive schemes supported by CAAWS members. However, during the ten years under study the domain of operations changed the least. From this, I believe that the insitutionalized prescriptive rules that underpin the nature of feminist organizations are connected to the interpretive schemes through the domain of operations. Hinings and Greenwood define the domain of operations as "the broad nature of organizational purposes or mission" (1988a, p. 19). At its time of formation, the women who created CAAWS did so in order to advance the status of women and sport. According to Martin (1990, p. 184) a feminist organization is one that is "pro-woman, political, and socially transformational (Freeman, 1979)". Based on this definition of feminist organization and CAAWS' original domain of operation CAAWS is a feminist organization.

The domain of CAAWS changed in 1987 when the first clause of the mission statement was altered from "to advance the position of women" to "CAAWS defines, promotes and supports a feminist perspective". The increased emphasis on being a feminist organization adjusted the domain such that CAAWS moved from operating in both the sphere of sport and the women's movement to existing primarily in the latter. Then in 1991, CAAWS members moved CAAWS back into the sport system more directly by redesigning the set of priorities which supported the mission statement. Even though the sector in which CAAWS operated changed twice, CAAWS did not loose its status of being a feminist organization. CAAWS members did not alter their fundamental purpose, to advance the status of women via a feminist perspective. Consequently, it appears that ideology is central to the prescriptive rules that bind feminist organizations as a group.

The studies of Ristock (1991) and Adamson, et al. (1988), as well as the findings of this thesis support the idea that feminist organizations employ many different principles of organizing, the second aspect of interpretive schemes. At the outset, CAAWS members supported different styles of organizing at the various organizational levels. The Vancouver chapter was incorporated and modeled after the national Board of Directors. The Ottawa chapter was an informal loosely structured group. The Annual General Meetings operated on the basis of individual members, rather than chapters, voting in order to make decisions. Whereas, the national level Executive operated more like a collective with no leader and consensus decision making. Ristock (1991), in her work with Canadian feminist social service collectives, reported that there is no one unique feminist structure and that

> ... the construction of a homogeneous collective, or the attempts to develop any so-called unique or ideal model, implies that a static,

> contextually void construct is desirable and achievable. It is my contention that there is no ideal model. (p. 51)

She concludes by stating "Collectives cannot remain as static organizational forms if they are to endure" (p. 55).

Ristock's comments are reflected in changes that were made to CAAWS' principles of organizing used at the Annual General Meetings and at the national level of CAAWS. In the mid 1980s the election procedure was altered from a voting process to a self-selection process among the nominees. The Board of Directors at this time altered its organizing to extend the organization's recognition of its Directors to include the whole person by increasing social communications among Directors. These changes manifest the ideological movement of CAAWS members towards a more central position in the women's movement from the periphery. It is unknown whether or not the principles of organizing changed again when CAAWS became a full fledged sport organization. I suspect it may have in order to gain legitimacy in the institutional sphere of sport.

Criteria of evaluation, the third aspect of interpretive schemes, consists of the assessment used internally to evaluate organizational performance (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988a, p. 19). Initially, CAAWS members judged which activities to carry out according to whether or not the activity had the potential to advance the status of women. Then, when CAAWS saw itself more as a women's organization, members evaluated success based on the ability of members to implement a feminist process. At the close of the study, CAAWS members seeking monetary support from Fitness and Amateur Sport began to use more malestream forms of evaluation, such as: was the project completed on time and within the budget. These changes in the evaluation criteria coupled with the alterations in the domain of operations and the principles of organizing delineate the shifts in the liberal feminist ideology and values over the ten year history.

The process of delineating the CAAWS ideology brought to light an issue regarding the terminology used to categorize feminist ideologies. CAAWS was constructed as a liberal feminist advocacy organization. During its history CAAWS continued to have a liberal feminist perspective, even though changes to its ideology and values brought about an incorporation of some feminist organizing methods that are unconventional with respect to malestream organizing. The difficulty lies in the everyday usage of the terms liberal and radical as opposed to the terms liberal feminist and radical feminist. An example of the problem arose when Van Oosten (1989, p. 54) in writing about CAAWS paraphrased a CAAWS member and wrote "... CAAWS is viewed as a radical organization". During formal interviews and in casual conversations with a number of CAAWS members I noted that many of these women were upset with this statement and its apparent lack of accuracy. However, in a discussion with the member who had been paraphrased she explained that her meaning was not that CAAWS was a radical feminist organization, but rather she meant that "what CAAWS is trying to do is radical because we are trying change the status quo and that is radical". Thus, the use of this terminology may slant members opinions of specific types of change. For instance, given the negative reaction of members to CAAWS being identified as radical, there may have also been nervousness about the adoption of unusual internal procedures. Consequently, the pattern of organizational change may have been influenced.

FEMINIST STRATEGY

Strategy in this study was defined as a pattern of activities, either planned or realized that emanates from the goals of organizational members and members' reactions to environmental demands, and that consolidates them into a unified approach (Mintzberg, 1988; Quinn, 1988). This construct amalgamated three of Martin's (1990) dimensions: Feminist Goals, Feminist Outcomes, and Practices. Changes in CAAWS' strategy were examined on two continuums: deliberate-emergent and mainstream-disengagement. The first continuum has been used to measure the degree of members' intentionality regarding the strategy. Organizational members construct deliberate strategies as plans to follow or goals to achieve. In contrast, emergent strategies arise only as members recognize a pattern in their actions (Mintzberg, 1988). The second continuum was used to gauge the activities of feminists with respect to the level of interaction they pursue within the mainstream of society. Mainstream feminist strategies involve working within existing institutions with the intent of reaching a majority of people. In contrast, a disengagement strategy critiques existing structures and institutions from a standpoint outside of the system and concentrates on the creation of alternatives (Briskin, 1991). Most feminist organizations operate at points between the two extremes of this continuum.

During the ten years of CAAWS under study, both deliberate and emergent strategies developed. Analyzing the type of strategy employed highlighted the strategic changes within CAAWS. For instance, members working at both national and provincial levels followed the detailed deliberate strategy which was created in 1987. Between its creation and 1989 members updated this formal plan every six months. Within two years parts of this strategy, such as the university course study and lobbying provincial governments for women in sport policies were realized. However, as time passed the activities of local CAAWS members changed from a focus on lobbying to a concentration on promoting local sport and fitness opportunities. Members in Ottawa working in a coalition with other local agencies became deeply involved in the creation and promotion of sport opportunities for girls and women. A similar strategy emerged after 1989 in Vancouver. The fading of the deliberate strategy at the local level and the emergence of the new promotion oriented strategy signaled changing values and priorities of local CAAWS members. National level members recognized this changing pattern of actions and formalized it as a formal strategy after the financial crisis of 1990 that led members to seek funding from Fitness and Amateur Sport.

The mainstream-disengagement continuum assesses the content of feminist strategies. Using this continuum for analysis was most useful when categorizing the components of CAAWS strategies. As the components changed either deliberately or through emerging activities, the overall placement of the strategy upon the continuum could be altered. In 1982 the CAAWS goals contained six mainstream components and two possible disengagement components. The focus of projects, during the early years, emphasized the mainstream portion of the strategy. At this time, the *Organize* booklet, which instructed women on how to form their own sport opportunities, was the only project of a more disengaged nature. By 1989, the activities of CAAWS included: assisting with the National Coaching School for Women, which offered a feminist approach to coaching, writing a feminist process-oriented handbook; *A Policy Handbook: A Tool for Social Change*; and creating a feminist model for fitness leaders. These activities illustrate the increased emphasis on disengagement type projects at the national level. Also important was the increasing focus on community sport days which sought to educate the general public and increase sport and fitness opportunities at the local level. Analyzing the national and local level strategic components yielded a movement in the strategy from its primarily mainstream start position to a position located more towards the disengagement end.

Another benefit I found when applying the mainstream-disengagement strategy continuum was the separation that was possible between discussing the strategy and the ideology. The continuum provided a method of discussing strategy without tying it to the organization's ideology. Strategy is about activity, and especially externally-focused activity, rather than inward-directed ideological communication and rhetoric. For example, while it is sensible and understandable that a liberal feminist organization might employ disengagement activities, it would be less sensible to suggest the use of radical strategies within a liberal organization without redefining the ideology of the organization.

Although both continuums proved useful in the analysis of organizational change, I did note difficulties with both. An issue arose in the application of the deliberate-emergent strategic continuum, specifically concerning the interpretation of the data collected. Since I did not inquire through interviews about the strategy of CAAWS, I may have imposed connections between actions and activities and consequently, seen emergent strategies when CAAWS members would not have. For example, I surmised that the evolution of topics at the National Conferences, which were held in conjunction with the AGMs, beginning with the statistical analysis of current opportunities for women in sport, throught instruction on creating local opportunities, to lobbying for local level policy changes, was an emergent strategy that was concerned with educating and activating the general membership of CAAWS regarding issues in their communities. However, CAAWS members might not agree with this interpretation. CAAWS members may not have seen the pattern in their activities, or at least not purposefully tried to continue the progression. The danger associated with assigning this externally imputed strategy to CAAWS is one of potential abuse. If strategies can be unrecognized by the actors who are said to be pursuing those strategies, than it can also be argued that those same actors may not recognize their own interests.

The changes in the strategy of CAAWS brought to light a challenge in the application of the mainstream-disengagement strategic continuum. It was difficult to describe variation in CAAWS strategies. Even though some activities were disengaged from the sport system, the strategies, the amalgamation of all activities, existed on the mainstream half of the continuum. Describing the variance between the 1982-1985 strategy and the 1991 strategy is awkward. In both cases CAAWS members planned primarily mainstream activities. Yet, in 1991 CAAWS members strategically placed the organization inside the sport system by redesigning it into an umbrella organization for girls and women in sport and physical activity. Thus, the latter strategy was more mainstream, but the degree of difference on the strategic continuum is debatable. I believe that the mainstream-disengagement continuum is useful in analyzing change in feminist strategies; however, it would be more useful if there were a number of points along it which could be referenced in describing and examining changes in strategy.

The analysis of the CAAWS strategies using the mainstream-disengagement and the emergent-deliberate continuums highlighted the influence that the initial mainstream and deliberate strategy had on the future development of CAAWS. In 1982, the planned strategy concentrated on national level activities and contained no guidelines for local level chapters. Because of this, the chapter members worked on whatever inspired them and whatever they could get funded. By the close of the re-creation period, the national strategy included provincial level advocacy activity. However, the representation of local members on the National Board of Directors had been decreased through the reduction of positions allotted to geographic representatives from twelve to five. The decreased contact between the national and local level members led to local members creating local coalitions with other organizations in order to pursue change at the community level. Eventually this lack of attention paid to local members led chapter members to disassociate from CAAWS altogether. The loose linkage between the two levels was incorporated as a deliberate strategy in 1991. So, the initial lack of a formal strategy for the local level changed little over the ten years and set in motion an emergent pattern of actions that were finally realized as a formal, deliberate strategy that would influence the type of organization CAAWS could be in 1991.

STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS

An organization's structure represents the values and beliefs of organizational members regarding the appropriate methods of organizing and operating (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988a). Change in an organization's operating procedures and ideology may be reflected in the altering of the organization's structure (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988a; Tushman and Romanelli, 1986). To study the structural changes in CAAWS I employed the concepts of authority and membership. The distribution of authority in feminist organizations is generally through either structures which acknowledge leaders or through equality driven structures with no identified leaders (Adamson, et al., 1988). The membership issues that I examined revolved around the issue of diversity and the related politics of identity.

Using the notion of authority I detected both an increase in role specialization for Executive positions and an increase in the usage of feminist tools that attempted to create greater equality amongst group members. Structural changes over the ten years decreased the general authority of individual executive members and increased individual executive member's authority in specific areas. Those on the executive between 1982 and 1985 decided amongst themselves what tasks needed to be covered and who would be responsible for each area. By 1987, members were elected to specific executive positions which had specific duties attached, such as Marketing Coordinator. This reduced the shared authority over operations and limited the responsibility of executive members. Hence, the incremental structural changes reduced the equality amongst executive members.

At the same time as executive positions became specialized, changes to the operating process negated some of the reduction of shared authority. Implementing a more radical form of feminist process, which involved the rotation of the positions, note taker, time keeper, and vibes watcher, served to equalize executive members, at least during meetings. Starhawk explains that:

> formal roles in a group can be used consciously to help change its underlying structure. ... [For example,] we begin meetings with a weather report, asking each person how central or distant they are feeling. Whoever feels most peripheral may be appointed facilitator. Whoever tends to monopolize the talk is asked to take notes. Whoever feels grumpiest and most irritated is asked to be vibeswatcher. (1988, p. 120)

By having a second set of formal roles that rotated amongst the Directors, the individual authority gained through the structure could be reduced. The importance placed on the process of meeting redistributed the authority to all participants.

The constitutive nature of structure sustains and shapes interactions amongst members (Ranson, et al., 1980). The type of interactions and consequently, the type of conflict, depend upon the homogeneity of its membership. For feminist organizations two general recruitment beliefs exist. The ideology of sisterhood leads to an open door membership policy which when implemented generates a heterogeneous membership; in contrast, recruiting members based on their politics of identity creates a homogeneous membership (Adamson, et al., 1988). A heterogeneous membership in which the leaders frequently change will tend to revisit and debate the organization's central premises as often as the leaders change. Homogeneous organizations that emphasize a specific politic, such as the issues of immigrant women, are strained when members deviate from the norm.

The concept of membership used in this study as a component of structure assisted in developing an understanding of structural momentum. The ideology of sisterhood and the politics of identity, generally, explain the nature of a feminist organization's membership. Because members were recruited from personal contacts and networks between 1982 and 1985, CAAWS members formed a homogeneous group composed primarily of sport administrators. During the re-creation of 1986-1987 one Board member sought to broaden the membership base of CAAWS by attracting a wider range of members. Thus, she attempted to invoke the ideology of sisterhood. The founding leaders who had returned fought this idea by ousting the aberrant Board member. After the restructuring, CAAWS did attempt to increase its membership base to appease its funding agencies. It also took the financial crisis of 1990 to continue the motivatation for national level CAAWS members to seek a larger membership.

A homogeneous membership can deepen structural momentum because of the positive feedback it produces: the greater the number of homogeneous members, the more likely it is that the majority of the membership will favor continued homogeneous recruitment strategies. In CAAWS' case, the organization's momentum as a group of women with specialized knowledge of sport was further enabled by the decoupling of the national and local levels which permitted a diverse grass-roots membership to be attracted to the local coalitions while the national level members remained small and homogeneous.

A difficulty with the use of authority as a measure of organizational change became apparent in the later phases of this study. Authority highlighted structure and process changes as specialized roles and systems were implemented. However, few, if any, documents recorded the decrease in the usage of the more unusual feminist procedures as the concentration on the feminist process began to subside. The gradual loss of importance of the feminist process was detected only through the negative comments made by some interviewees regarding using the process. Authority was employed as an important construct because of its relationship to formal structures and the significance some feminist organizing places on the reconfiguration of formal structures. In this case, however, more explicit attention to processual and non-legitmated forms of power might have enabled a more thorough analysis of these changes.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

Several aspects of an organization's environment can generate revolutionary change, including: environmental instability, or a perception of such, and incongruities between the organization under study and organization(s) in its evironment can generate revolutionary organizational change (Hinings and Greenwood, 1988a; Kimberly, 1987; Tushman et. al., 1986). In general, one of the most sigificant external relationships for organizations in the Canadian women's movement is formed with some department of the either the Federal government or some provincial government. The importance of such a relationship for women's organizations lies in both the potential monetary transfer and the possiblity of influencing government policy and legislation. In the 1980s the relationship between the state and women's organizations changed with respect to the level at which the government dealt with women's issues, from legislative levels to bureaucratic levels (Findlay, 1988). This is an example of how environments influence organizations through their control over resources, in this case access to policy making (Thompson, 1967; Burns and Stalker, 1961; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1969, Daft, 1986). The reliance of women's organizations on government agencies for resources makes them vulnerable to changes in government negotiation and funding patterns.

Two findings in this study demonstrate this dependence most forcefully. CAAWS members seriously changed several aspects of the organization in order to create and recreate congruence between its operations and government funding policies when these policies were rewritten. On three occasions funding opportunities changed and CAAWS members reacted by restructuring the organization. In 1980, Fitness and Amateur Sport substantially increased the funds to its Women's Program for affirmative action projects. This first change in government policy resulted in women in sport creating CAAWS. Then in 1985, partially in response to Secretary of State Women's Program granting CAAWS core operating funds, CAAWS members redesigned the organization to more closely resemble a women's organization in ideology and become more disengaged from sport in its strategy. That was the second major change. The third large scale change occurred after the Secretary of State Women's Program stopped funding CAAWS in 1990. Members altered the ideology and strategy in order to acquire Fitness and Amateur Sport funding and become accepted into the sport system. Over the ten year history of CAAWS the significance of government relationships to CAAWS members was highlighted by the organizational changes implemented in response to the changes in government policy.

The continuing adaptation of CAAWS to the dynamic policy and funding climate was a significant factor in their continued survival. The movement of government relationships with women's organizations from the legislative level to the bureaucratic level was the second external factor in external relations that was integral to the formation and the continuation of CAAWS. Because, by coincidence, a CAAWS member always filled the position of FAS Women's Program Manager, the participation of CAAWS members in policy making was probably greater than it could have been if the Women's Program Managers had not been CAAWS members. However, its dependence on the Women's Program for funding occasionally produced friction between these organizations with respect to the expected final results of funded projects. The feminist goals and outlook of CAAWS members at times did not fit with the bureaucratic expectations of the Women's Program Manager. Projecting past the end of the ten year study, the new status of CAAWS as a primarily sport and fitness organization first, probably led to a reduction in the conflicts between these organizations because they had come to operate from a more similar standpoint. As Findlay (1988, p. 7) argues,

> What we must realize is that the struggle with the state has taken on new dimensions in the 1980s. ... What are we faced with now is a government that has institutionalized the representation of feminist issues;

> that is, it has integrated women's issues in the "unequal" structure of representation that is the basis of the policy-making process.

This process of institutionalization of women in sport issues began with the increase in funding of the FAS Women's Program and its funding of affirmative action projects; through these funds CAAWS was formed; and later CAAWS became an arms-length from government umbrella sports organization.

Over the course of the ten years studied the structures, philosophy, and strategies of CAAWS underwent two significant changes, once in 1986 and again in 1990. By viewing the biography of CAAWS, it is clear that two decisions made during the founding played vital roles in the subsequent history. The first decision dealt with the domain of CAAWS. Initially, CAAWS had four activities areas, advocacy, communications, leadership, and research. This wide range of activities permitted members to work for CAAWS in any maner they wished. It also created reoccurring debates over the importance of advocacy as compared to the other areas. These debates were fueled by the ideas and beliefs of members new to the Board. The decision to initially define the domain of CAAWS very broadly, and consequently, provide room for movement, was one of the main factors that contributed to the two re-creations of CAAWS.

The second critical decision made at the founding meeting related to the financial status of CAAWS. Here founders tied CAAWS to government funding. Initially, CAAWS received only project funds, but members persued the possibility of core operating funds with Secretary of State. Upon receiveing this level of funding CAAWS became more dependent upon government grants, even though Secretary of State warned CAAWS members against a heavy reliance on these funds. When the grant was eliminated CAAWS members restructured the organization to fit other government funding requirements. The two re-creations of CAAWS were greatly influenced by the relationship the organization had to the state.

From the biography it appears that the significant initial decisions were those that were continually debated. The majority of interviewees identified one critical issue in CAAWS as the membership versus advocacy. This I believe occured because of the vague initial definition of the domain and the different opportunities that existed according to where funds originated from. Reasearch into the history of other feminist organizations would provide more information concerning the importance of domain definition and links to government funds.

STUDY LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH AND FEMINIST ORGANIZATIONS

This research has developed and utilized an analytical framework that integrates theory on organizational change and feminist organizations. In analyzing the history of the CAAWS it has opened and partially addressed many questions, both theoretical and empirical with respect to the development of feminist advocacy organizations.

The findings of this study are limited by the exploratory nature of the project, the case study nature of the research, and the availability of resources with which to collect data. The most restrictive parameter results from the limited scope of members that were interviewed. Historical information was gathered only from members who participated on the National Board of Directors. Consequently, this restricted the information gathered, and reflects, generally, only one set of perspectives within the organization. However, most of the women interviewed were active at the community level as well, and therefore had knowledge of more than just the national level activities.

A second limitation relates to the length of tenure of the Directors interviewed. I selected potential interview candidates partially on the basis that they had participated at the national level for at least three years. This criteria ensured that the interviewees had knowledge of CAAWS over an extended length of time. One possible effect of this criterion, however, may have been to understate the level of conflict associated with the Board. The Directors who held shorter tenures may have left because of some level of discontentment. However, interviewing short term members may have also distorted the history due to a possible lack of understanding concerning the organization.

From this study I believe there are a number of implications for feminist organizations. First, the conflicts between the founding leaders and other Board members are important to note because they represent the tension and suspicion that can exist when one group of leaders is perceived to have more power through knowledge and covert leadership. Feminists seeking to emphasize equality in their organizations need to recognize the potentially stressful inequalities that exist due to members' tenure in the organization.

A second consideration for feminist organizations relates to the influence that any one group of people can wield. If organizational members desire a truly revolutionary and democratic approach to management, service in positions of authority for example, Boards of Directors could be limited to single terms, thereby disallowing the possibility of organizational members cycling back into power positions and the return of factions.

A third factor relates to an organization's intended mission and goals. If organizational members wish to remain true to their mission and goals, then they must decouple the fundraising activities from the operational activities to some extent. In CAAWS, the heavy reliance on federal monies led to some fundamental changes in operations as sources of money dried up.

A final implication for feminist organizations concerns the development of strategies for social change. Much of the strategy in this case study emerged over time. Given this, if it is important that emergent strategies be consistent with the fundamental tenets of a feminist organization, then members need to explicitly and specifically define the domain of operations.

The analytical framework used in this study provided some valuable insights into the history of CAAWS. It would be useful to analyze other national Canadian feminist advocacy organizations, which were formed during the early 1980s, using this framework in order to assess the applicability of the framework in other case studies. Also of interest would be the application of this framework to the development of organizations concerned with women in sport in other countries. Cross cultural comparisons among such organizations would serve to identify whether these types of organizations faced similar issues in their development. For instance, is the size and degree of homogeneity of membership problematic in other cultural settings; is homophobia dealt within these other organizations; to what degree are the activities of the national and local level members interconnected; and are these other organizations feminist?

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APPENDIX A

CAAWS STATEMENT OF PHILOSOPHY, 1982

written by the CAAWS Interim Planning Committee (IPC)

CAAW+S STATEMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

The purpose of this paper is to outline a perspective on the position and status of women and sport which forms the basic philosophy of CAAW+S.

In particular it is designed to demonstrate that there are good reasons why sexism in sport should be an issue for feminists; and, more importantly, why feminism should be an issue for sportswomen and others interested in advancing the cause of sport for women.

Obviously there will exist a diversity of opinion among CAAW+S members and associates, but fundamental to CAAW+S' philosophy should be a shared belief in the importance of understanding our situation within a feminist framework.

Naturally each individual understands her own life in terms of personal experiences, but a feminist analysis encourages the identification of common denominators from those diverse experiences. Feminism can be both a way of understanding the world in abstract and analytical terms, and a way of understanding our own experiences and drawing out from personal experiences an appreciation of the more general situation of women.

As Nancy Hartsock has said:

> "A feminist method is a mode of analysis, a method of approaching life and politics, a way of asking questions and searching for answers rather than a set of political conclusions about the oppression of women. Women are applying that method to their own experiences as women in order to transform the social relations which define their own existence."

WHAT IS FEMINISM ?

Feminism is an ideology - a perspective in which it is assumed that a sexist society currently exists, and therefore, that to understand anything about the society we must understand the extent to which one's gender and sex role is a significant determinant of life situation.

Janet Radcliffe Richards in her book *The Sceptical Feminist* provides a simple but cogent definition of feminism:

> "Feminism is intended to mean only that there are excellent reasons for thinking that women suffer from systematic social injustice because of their sex."

That is to say, males and females are treated differently and these differences (while perhaps disadvantageous to both sexes) are more disadvantageous to females than to males. Feminists believe that the unequal sharing of power, resources and opportunities should be overturned.

Feminism examines the power relationships in society, and posits that understanding the role, status and power of individuals and groups must take account of sex. Regardless of the situation of any single woman within her family, local community, place of employment etc. - and women range in status from the very powerful and influential to the virtually powerless - the general state of society is one of *patriarchy*. Patriarchy simply means that the power is held primarily by, and in the interests of, males.

Feminism provides a way of understanding both the social world and the manifestations of sexism in organizations and institutions. Feminism is a way of understanding the attitudes, behaviours and actions of individuals - again positing that the sex of an individual is a major (if not *the* major) determining factor.

We are by *nature* male or female; by virtue of living in a society with strong socialization mechanisms, we adopt masculine or feminine behaviour. Feminism is concerned with freeing women from the constraints of socially defined feminine behaviour. No one denies the role of women in reproduction (the major biological distinction between the sexes) - but what is important to feminists is that women are not laden with stereotypic responsibilities that lessen their opportunities in society simply because they have a different (and obviously more important) role in the reproductive process.

Unfortunately, in historical terms, women have had their biological role in reproduction elevated to the level where it has been assumed to be their most *important* role (and in respect of child-rearing, the role exclusively of women). The consequences for women in terms of opportunities for employment, economic independence and power (either domestically or within the larger society) are obvious: women are simply not the equals of men in these matters. The goals of feminism, therefore, have a great deal to do with establishing equality between the sexes. There are, of course, in contemporary society, a great many other barriers to the advancement of women toward economic self-sufficiency and social equality.

Unfortunately for women, the differences in physical capacity between men and women have generally been exaggerated and the potential of women seriously underestimated. The well-known differences between males and females - in musculature, body composition, cardiac output etc. - have been assumed to add up to the physical superiority of males. In fact, on these and other parameters, the difference is often one of degree - males and females are ranged along a spectrum with males and females interspersed along that continuum. It is in the area of physical capacity that women are most often subject to declarations of inferiority. One reason why promoting physical activity among women is important is to identify to women and to society in general that women are quite capable of performing beyond the relatively low levels thought to be the upper limit of female achievement. The low estimation of female physical potential has not only impeded in recent times the advancement of women into jobs that have required physical strength, but women, in accepting a social-defined notion of physical femininity, have been aliented from any consciousness of themselves as powerful physical beings.

THE GOALS OF FEMINISM

There are many variants of feminist thought, but the following statements probably represent goal statements compatible with the major themes of feminism:

(1) To eradicate sexism and the adverse impact of ascribed sex roles. (That is - to make arbitrary determinations of what women should do or can do, unacceptable.)

(2) To take account of biological differences where these are relevant and to ensure that these differences do not result in adverse circumstances for women. (For example, if women as they must - bear children, society should implement such measures as paid maternity leave to ensure that the physical fact of pregnancy and childbirth does not severely hamper the career prospects of women.)

(3) To ensure that biological differences are not magnified and exaggerated and used as rationalizations to limit the full participation of women in any activity.

(4) To create a society where full equality of opportunity in social relations, public policy, the activities of groups, organizations and institutions is the norm, regardless of gender or sex.

(5) To take actions which will advance the cause of women. Feminists believe in the equality of the sexes - but, given the historical inequalities, feminism is committed to improving the status of women and accelerating that progress wherever possible. Feminists are activists in supporting the movement of women (individually and collectively). Feminists may be intellectual feminists only, but more likely they are people highly motivated to pursue social actions leading to equality and the eradication of sexism.

Although there have been many women who have struggled hard to improve the situation of women and sport, relatively few of these women would call themselves feminists. Similarly, active feminists and women's liberationists have generally not spent much time thinking about sport as a fertile ground for action. However, a merging of feminism and sport is in the interest of all women.

FEMINISM AND SPORT

Why A Feminist Perspective on Sport?

The preceding pages have focussed on some general tenets of feminism. The following points suggest reasons why a feminist perspective on sport would provide a starting point for understanding sexism in sport and thus for changing the sport environment for women.

- o Because sport in Canada has historically provided fewer opportunities for female participation;
- o Because sport with its emphasis on physical attributes and capacities of individuals may either buttress or negate perceptions of female physical inferiority and male physical superiority;
- o Because women will be largely responsible for efforts to eradicate sexism in sport;

- Because change toward equality in sport will not occur spontaneously or naturally; it will be the product of deliberate effort;
- Because sport is a social good and a social service, widely subsidized by public resources, and, as such, all citizens should have a natural right to equal access to sport opportunities;
- Because demonstrations of female proficiency in sport may have a more generalized social impact in terms of creating awareness of the potential of women to perform in areas hitherto thought beyond their capabilities;
- Because participation in physical activity has an undeniable effect on women as they understand themselves as physical beings;
- Because feminists by virtue of their concern not only for the elimination of sexism but also for other humanistic values have an obligation not only to work to eradicate sexism but also to change sport more fundamentally so that it embraces more humane values;

REDEFINING SPORT IN NON-SEXIST TERMS SHOULD BE AN AREA FOR VIGILANT AND DETERMINED EFFORT BY FEMINISTS.

Feminist Analysis of Inequality/Discrimination in Sport

A feminist analysis of women in sport identifies that inequality is not occasional or incidental, but rather that it is woven into the structure of sport and society generally. The status of women in sport can only be understood by an understanding of the place and role of women in society.

Specific instances of discrimination are not accidental. If a female is denied the chance to play a certain sport, it is because sport is organized predominantly for male participation. Much of the evolution of women's sport is the history of women fighting to gain access to opportunities the system has always provided to males.

A feminist analysis of sport demonstrates the extent to which inequality exists in the following areas:

- allocation of resources and opportunities for participation
- opportunities for employment in sport
- the availability of opportunities for participation are largely based on sex-stereotyping of specific sports
- the law permits unequal access to publically funded programs and facilities
- roles in sport are allocated on the basis of sex (participants, coaches, leaders, etc.)
- aesthetic standards and standards of measurement tend to emphasize 'masculine' attributes at the expense of those areas in which females might reasonably be expected to excel.

STRATEGY FOR CHANGE

CAAW+S must develop strategies for change. There is a great deal to be learned from the activities of women's groups. Strategies could be ranged along a continuum from radicalism to reformism, but all approaches accept that the system is male dominated or organized in the interests of men. Radicals, for example, would argue that patriarchy is so pervasive that nothing short of overturning the entire system will bring about significant change for women. Reformists believe that real change can occur on an incremental basis and that improvements in the conditions for women are worth fighting for.

One could argue in the context of sport, for example, that sport is so male-dominated and dehumanizing (for both males and females) that it is not worth our while to try to change it. Some amelioration of the situation for women in sport is possible through incremental change. It is presumably worthwhile to work to ensure that more women are able to coach, to ensure that more women become sport leaders, to ensure that more women are able to participate in whatever sport activity they wish to do etc. There are many aspects of sport which would require more dramatic action if real change is to occur.

(7)

Regardless of approach there are some fundamental criteria that CAAW+S can use to determine which actions it should take. Charlotte Bunch has elaborated five criteria for evaluating proposed actions:

(1) Does this action materially improve the lives of women and if so, which women and how many;

(2) Does it build individual women's self-respect, strength and confidence;

(3) Does it give women a sense of power, strength and imagination as a group and help build structures for further change;

(4) Does it educate women politically, enhancing the ability to criticize and challenge the system in the future; and,

(5) Does it weaken patriarchal control of society's institutions and help women gain power over them.

Not every action will necessarily advance all five criteria, but no reform pursued should be in opposition to any of these points.

AREAS FOR CHANGE

Given these strategic considerations, the following statements of mission and goals are appropriate for CAAW+S.

Mission Statement:

To advance the position of women by defining, promoting, and supporting a feminist perspective on sport and to improve the status of women in sport.

Goal Statements:

1. Eradicate sexism in sport.
2. Design new models for sport and strategies for change that fit the criteria for feminist reform.

3. Develop and maintain a network to promote participation and lobby for change.
4. Provide a support system for individual and collective initiatives that help women function in the existing sport system.
5. Develop a feminist analysis of sport.
6. Through education and consciousness raising, develop an awareness of sexism in sport and strategies for change.
7. Facilitate greater involvement of women in all aspects of sport.
8. Contribute to the women's movement and social change in favor of women generally.

CAAW+S should focus its efforts for change on the following areas:

1. Allocation of resources
2. Legal Remedies (quotas, human rights cases, contract compliance)
3. Leadership
4. Consciousness Raising
5. Demythologizing female participation in sport (ie. ridding female sport participation of its stigma and stereotypes)
6. Developing alternative models for sport participation (ie. integrated sport)
7. Affirmative action to accelerate the provision of equal opportunity.

WHAT WOULD NON-SEXIST SPORT BE LIKE?

If we were successful in achieving a non-sexist sport world, the following characteristics would predominate:

(9)

(1) equality of opportunity for participation regardless of sex

(2) access to participation in any sport regardless of sex

(3) equal allocation of resources to male and female sport opportunities

(4) equal interest in and motivation to participate in sport among males and females

(5) equal opportunity to fill any role (coach, athlete, administrator, technician, scientist, etc.) regardless of sex

(6) division of participants for competitive purposes into groupings formed on the basis of demonstrated ability rather than sex

(7) social approval, avoidance of stigmatization, and general social acceptance of the physical potential of female athletes.

CAAW+S will work to establish the above characteristics within the existing framework of sport and by developing alternative models of sport which would be favourable to women.

APPENDIX B

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING REFORMS

1. Does this action materially improve the lives of women and if, so, which women and how many?

2. Does it build individual women's self-respect, strength, and confidence?

3. Does it give women a sense of power, strength and imagination as a group and help build structures for further change?

4. Does it educate women politically, enhancing the ability to criticize and challenge the system in the future?

5. Does it weaken patriarchal control of society's institutions and help women gain power over them?

Bunch, C. The Reform tool kit. *Quest: A Feminist Quarterly,* 1(1), Summer 1977.

APPENDIX C

REVENUE HISTORY OF CAAWS (1981 TO 1991)

FINANCIAL REVENUE HISTORY OF CAAWS 1981-1991

FUNDING SOURCE/YEAR	1981-1982	1982-1983	1983-1984	1984-1985	1985-1986	1986-1987	1987-1988	1988-1989	1989-1990	1990-1991	1991-1992
FAS WOMEN'S PROGRAM	4800	11800	18734	33670	11203	29683	30783	26910	28776	49000	190000
FITNESS CANADA	0	0	17000	3800	1200	0	0	4550	3450	0	
SECRETARY OF STATE WOMEN'S PROGRAMME											
CORE OPERATIONS	0	0	0	5000	27800	55600	65847	78054	78246	0	0
ANNUAL CONFERENCE	0	15540	20000	20505	21950	19400	22823	1400	*	0	0
GENERAL REVENUE (MEMBERSHIPS, INT., SALE OF ASSETS)	0	1922	2500	3187	2742	4967	9288	8470	5416	7117	UNKNOWN
TOTAL BUDGET =	4800	29262	58234	66162	64895	109650	128541	119384	115888	56117	190000

* unknown if any of the $78,246 was used on the 1990 conference

APPENDIX D

CAAWS MEMBERSHIP SIZE

DATE	MEMBERSHIP SIZE
March 1981	36
January 1983	70
November 1983	227
March 1984	250
October 1985	129
April 1986	130
March 1987*	199
March 1988*	316
March 1989*	438
November 1990	235

* The membership size for these years has been estimated from the membership revenue recorded in the financial statements and based on the average cost of memberships as per figures from 1986 and 1990.